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Editor's Notes

They love their land because it is their own (Halleck)

Western culture and Western commerce penetrated Papua New Guinea long after missionaries and beach-combers, sailors and planters and bureaucrats too, had made themselves felt over most of the Pacific. By now the impact has been considerable, and Papua New Guinea's newly independent government faces many major modern problems, but none is more important in the long term, if social justice is to be had for present and future generations, than the land question with its complex sociological implications. We are very glad in this number to include Alan Ward's study of this problem written with understanding and perception and which he himself entitled 'Some more equal than others'.

With earthquakes of the greatest magnitude making world headlines during 1976, the New Year is a very suitable occasion to publish the proposals of K. N. Westgate and P. O'Keefe as to how by means of advance planning, developing countries in earthquake zones can seek to mitigate the loss of life and property caused by these terrible recurrent phenomena. Above all, they emphasise the need for action which lies within the scope of local resources and is not dependent on expensive, sophisticated alien technology.

We also include two articles on Nigeria. Dr Ijere surveys recent agricultural planning experience and puts forward suggested guidelines for the future which include a planning Unit in the Ministry of Agriculture to be responsible, *inter alia*, for policy making, and for project design and execution. He suggests that such a Unit should be a semi-autonomous body liaising with other Ministries but in a position to involve itself expeditiously in suitable investment projects.

In his study of recent local government reform in Benue Plateau State, Dr Adamolekun welcomes the increased measure of popular participation and the disappearance of the former feudal authorities, and looks forward to a greater degree of democratic local government when elections are restored for the people to make their own free choice of Councillors.

Finally, we include a review article by Dr McDowell on Rowton Simpson's major work 'Land Law and Registration' which, after much patient research and detailed preparation, now provides land administrators of developing countries with much needed and long awaited management guidelines.

The Land Question in Independent Papua New Guinea*

ALAN WARD**

Papua New Guinea's Independence Day, 16 September 1975, was celebrated in Port Moresby, the capital, with colourful ceremonies involving visiting dignitaries (including British royalty), solemn flag-raising, police and army bands and speeches by the Prime Minister, Mr Somare, emphasising the need to unite, to '*Bung wantaim*' as it is said in Melanesian pidgin, the real *lingua franca* of the new nation. But the festivities were unusually muted for a Pacific community, largely because of the anxieties about the ability of the new nation, comprising two-and-a-half million people of diverse ethnic and language groups, scattered across many islands and inter-montane valleys, to hold together. Already, on 1 September, secessionist leaders on copper-rich Bougainville had hoisted their blue flag, and the assuaging of separatist sentiments in several regions of Papua New Guinea, will be a difficult and delicate matter, requiring statesmanship of the highest order on the part of the Somare government and its Australian supporters.

But despite the necessary concentration on immediate political, constitutional and ethnic problems, there is another deep source of instability which will need extremely thoughtful, sensitive handling. This is the land question. When the Somare Government took power in the self-governing period it set up two major commissions. One was the Constitutional Planning Committee, to prepare the Constitution for Independence. The second was the Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters. The purpose of this paper is to suggest, from my experience as permanent consultant to that Commission, some of the ways in which policy decisions on land will fundamentally affect the task of nation-building.

My main proposition is that the comparatively egalitarian society of Papua New Guinea will, like that of other newly-independent nations, rapidly develop extreme social and economic stratifications, with privileged and unprivileged groups, and political instability in consequence; and that, unlike the present ethnic and constitutional problems which hopefully can be transitional, the instability caused by severe stratification will be endemic, as in Asia, Latin America, and increasingly in Africa. Some stratification of that kind is, of course, inevitable – a by-product of

*Revised text of a public lecture delivered at La Trobe University, Melbourne on 15 September 1975.

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commerce, industrialisation, urbanisation and the growth of a bureacracy. Whether it can be kept within manageable bounds depends fundamentally, I believe, on land law and land policy. For most Papua New Guinean villagers, who know and care little about the elaborate constitutional arguments of the three years between Self-government and Independence, land questions are a matter of vital concern. The question of who will garden what land, of who will inherit the gardens and crops of the 'big-man' just deceased; whether an aspiring big-man should be allowed to run cattle, and who should share the profits if he does; whether the stranger from another district should be allowed to settle and on what terms, whether the uncultivated land of the adjacent Christian mission should be resumed or left for what was supposed to be its purpose – a school or hospital endowment; whether the attractive Australian copra, or cocoa, or coffee plantations should be acquired and who should share in them if they are – these are questions of day to day concern to most Papua New Guineans. The choices in these matters relate centrally to the issue of how far traditional Melanesian egalitarianism can or should be preserved in the modern state – a constant theme in policy planning and ideological discussions in Port Moresby.

To what extent were traditional land tenure patterns egalitarian, and to what extent does the 97 per cent of land in Papua New Guinea still under customary right-holding remain so now?

It is necessary first, to dispel the myth of primitive communism, in the sense that all land is owned communally, and that all members of the owning group can equally share interests in the land. 'Ownership' of land itself is probably a misnomer. The anthropologists, William and Scarlett Epstein, Richard Salisbury, Ben Finney, and Ron Crocombe, have shown us in depth that different individuals and different groups traditionally own different kinds of rights in land, but no one individual or one group unequivocally owns *all* the rights in a given piece of land. Certainly the group which normally exercises permanent physical control and residence on a piece of land will have the primary rights in that land, and families in that group would normally have the right to clear bush and plant gardens on it.

Besides those rights, members of other families, or even of other groups, may have the right to gather from fruit trees, or to fish and hunt on the land or to exercise rights of way, about a family's garden land. The right of succession to a garden may rest with members of a family, but other kinsmen, in the female as well as the male line, or marriage connections, may have a claim. The right of temporary transfer of use rights outside the main descent lines may rest with the family which formerly used them, but the transfer of permanent, heritable rights to an outsider will almost certainly involve the consent of the wider group, not just of the family owning cultivating rights. Moreover, the definition of a right-holding group is itself difficult, since the boundaries of groups are to a greater or lesser extent fluid.

In the highlands, neighbouring clans or sub-clans are locked in a complex and shifting set of relationships of which land rights is one determinant. Land rights may be exchanged as a consequence of new social, marital, trading or military

alignments. The field officers of the Australian administration sometimes tried to settle land disputes between competing clans by marking their land boundaries, but the Commission of Enquiry, when taking evidence in the Chimbu District, was once asked to take the boundary lines away, because these inhibited the free granting of rights across different kinds of territory, from the valley floor, fertile for crops, to the ridge tops where people gathered useful bush materials.

Looking at it from a different perspective, one can say that any individual will have potential rights in several pieces of land, by descent from either male or female line, or from marital connections, or just from friendship. But descent alone is not a sufficient criteria for exercising these rights. A person normally activates rights – potential rights – by residence in a group and active participation in the activities of that group. Now some energetic people, aspiring 'big-men', will be able to activate more rights than others within the area of their immediate residence, and that of their wives. The Melanesian big-man system, in contrast to the chiefly system of Polynesia which places much emphasis on the status ascribed at birth, places more emphasis on status achieved by energetic entrepreneurship and the control of traditional wealth (such as pigs and shell money), by control of labour power through marrying several wives and by extending loans and traditional wealth to aspiring young protegés. The net result is that in any community, far from everyone having equal rights in the land, there will be distinct inequalities, because the successful big-men will have amassed their potential rights to the maximum, and the less energetic, or less able, or less fortunate may be confined to single garden plots.

The introduction of cash cropping has given the amassing of multiple potential rights a new importance. The indigenous coffee magnates in the Eastern Highlands, for example, have planted trees on scattered holdings so that cumulatively, they amount to quite a considerable estate, which may give them four or five figure bank balances.

What these men want to do now is to convert their holdings into permanent heritable estates. This would be a revolutionary step, because traditionally, a big-man's control of wealth and land rights was limited and temporary. Given the lack of traditional means of institutionalising control, there was a point at which the ability to manipulate the system, the sheer amount of energy a man had, ran out, and competitors would begin to overtake the entrepreneur. A man could balance so much in the traditional system, and no more. If he got too overweening, competition, combined with social pressures, sometimes sorcery, sometimes the destruction of his assets (today the maiming of cattle, or the sabotage of a tractor) pull him down. On his death the accumulation which had depended on him personally, was dispersed among kinsmen or creditors. A son did not inherit the complete economic empire his father had built up, and it was in this sense that Melanesia was egalitarian. In many ways it was a masterly system. Its entrepreneurial aspect frankly gave scope to the egotistical and acquisitive side of man's nature, without cloak or hypocrisy. At the same time it prevented the expression of those attributes from permanently disadvantaging other members of the community. The relationship

of needs to available land was constantly adjusted in week by week discussions. Verbal wills, arranged marriages and adoptions assisted. No one went landless. It was a successful and enduring system, which gave a stability and a balance and a continuity to Highland civilization (and I use the word advisedly – as anybody who knows about the complex social, economic, political relations, the complexity of ritual and dance and symbolism in the Highlands, would know) – an enduring civilization lasting back over hundreds, perhaps even thousands of years. Independent Papua New Guinea can look back with legitimate pride to this tradition.

In fact, many of the traditional leaders do. The nine Papua New Guineans who comprised the Commission of Enquiry into Land Matters were indeed anxious and thoughtful about the aspirations of today's generation of big-men to convert the temporary accumulation of control of land rights into permanent estates. The impulse and opportunity to make this conversion is of course, created by the advent of the cash economy, the availability of permanent tree crops and cattle herds, and the means of storing the surplus, both as commodities and as money in the bank. Big-men want this permanent control so that they can ensure maximum return for their investments of labour and capital, including borrowings from the Development Bank. They want to free themselves from the intersecting demand of other right-holders in the land, so that their profits are not dissipated, and they want to be able to pass the improved estates to their sons. They want to use the principal western device for storing up land rights – namely, a system of registered titles to land. So, as between members of groups, there is a powerful pressure in Papua New Guinea to create permanent rather than temporary differentiations in land holdings.

Similarly, between group and group there are such pressures. Traditionally, there were mechanisms for adjusting man-land ratios, including wholesale adoption, gift, alliance involving exchange of land rights, and migration into relatively empty lands. If necessary, there could be war of conquest. Much of the country, at the time of European penetration also had extensive no-man's lands between competing groups, and lands which were used only fleetingly for hunting and not for cultivation. The largest areas of this kind are in Papua. In the colonial history of most countries these so-called wastelands were made the subject of Crown right or its equivalent. This was not so in Papua New Guinea. The *Waste and Vacant Ordinance* in Papua gave the right to the Crown to take defined pieces of land for public purposes, but this was applied only in particular areas, rather strikingly on the gold fields of the Yodda and Wau valleys, where the local saying is the Resident Magistrates went in with their rifles, laid the land waste, and declared it vacant. Now this small-scale and particular acquisition did not give the state a pool of land, which most independent African countries now have at their disposal.

Because of their increasing commercial attractiveness, the 'waste' lands or hunting lands are increasingly claimed in proprietorship by the clans which dwell, perhaps, in one corner of them. An example of this is revealed in the story of the Patrol Officer who arrived at the mouth of a creek on New Ireland, and said that he intended to go up the river to the mountain ridge on the horizon. The people in

the village at the river mouth greeted him and asked 'Would you mind taking us with you? It's our land up there, but we've never been there and we'd like to see it'. Now if this claim to proprietorship of hitherto unused or fleetingly used land were fully developed, and the small clans which dwell on the margins of the territory they claim were allowed their claims, the whole country would be divided into private patrimonies. This would leave some clans enormously land rich, and others, like the overcrowded Chimbu and the Tolai, very short of land. This of course has important consequences for egalitarianism. It would also leave the Somare government very land short. It does not have a pool of land at its disposal, by means of which to remedy land shortage. Moreover, as a result of the increasingly high prices recently paid for land, and of anti-government feeling – the feeling which was vented against the Australian colonial administration also spilling over against Mr Somare's government – people are very vociferous about asserting the private rights against the claims of the government, which is trying to represent the community at large. Petty land empires – clan land empires, controlled principally by local big-men who have gained experience and insight into how to work the system, are likely to emerge. The ideology of some of the young élite, students at the university for example, does not modify this aspiration to any great extent. 'The land belongs to the people' is a slogan which students will enunciate, but what they mean by it, or at least, what some second year law students meant by it when they were asked to spell it out, was that all the land belongs to the particular clans who live on it or adjacent to it. These students elaborated that kind of claim to the extent that not only mission and plantation lands should be returned to the clans, but even the public lands should be returned to clan proprietorship, the government should pay tolls on the roads to the clans through whose land they run, the people should pay fees for the schools which are situated on the clan land, and the fees should go to the land-owning clan. These ideas are not likely to get much consideration from the central government, but as an indication of the aspirations at any rate of some of the young élite, who sometimes talk in completely meaningless ways about socialism, they give an idea of how strong is the assertion of private or clan right. Moreover, the most commonly suggested way that the balance of people to land should be adjusted, is that the land-surplus groups should become landlords, and that the land-short groups should become lessees or tenants. Now there is a common traditional process by which people do grant each other temporary land rights in return for some kind of gift or regular payment, and this looks very like a lease. But traditionally, it is not simply a commercial transaction. It is something which is done in the context of much wider political or social or marital relations. The tendency now is to reduce it simply to landlordism – a commercial transaction. Lately, in some districts, land-short people are accepting the offer and making private tenancy arrangements with sections of land-surplus groups, often side-stepping customary procedures and approvals in the process. In short, the whole population is poised to rush, lemming-like, into a system of landlord and tenant relations.

Some variant of this process occurred in most of the traditional societies of Asia, and is occurring in some of the societies in Africa. Unless some control can be established before the process gets well advanced, and the local land magnates

secure control of the regional political and judicial processes to re-inforce their position (a tendency already quite noticeably advanced in Papua New Guinea), Melanesian egalitarianism will quickly give way to the kinds of inequality – and hence to the instability – that characterise such countries as the Philippines, today.

What line is government to take in this problem? In the colonial period European administrations characteristically aimed quite frankly to foster individualism, partly for selfish reasons – the desire to buy land cheaply – and partly from a paternalistic conception of what was best for the local people.

The Australian policy in Papua New Guinea up until very recent times, was the creation of individual registered titles. This was modelled on the system of Torrens titles, developed very ably in Australia, and on recent policies of individualising tenure in Kenya. Until 1974, in fact, the only registered title to land a Papua New Guinean could obtain was an individual title, or at most a family title with no more than six names on it. It was possible, of course, for Papua New Guinean groups to hold or exercise as many rights as they liked, or could, in traditional land; the only registered title they could hold was an individual one. In 1968–71, there was an intelligent appraisal of this situation by Mr Don Grove, the then Director of Lands in Papua New Guinea. Draft bills drawn under his direction provided for registration of group title as well as systematic registration of individual titles. They provided for a system of local, district and central control boards which would have watched over the alienation of registered holdings, both in the public's interest, and in the vendor's interest. The 1971 land bills were modelled on the system which the British had introduced, with apparently striking success in Kenya, and drew upon the consulting services of the British land tenure specialists S. Rowton Simpson, Gerry Lawrance and James Fleming. The central purpose of the bills was to facilitate the emergence of farmers who would bring idle rural land into production and give purpose and employment to rural dwellers. It was also hoped that registered land would be transacted nationwide, and that this would help erode sectional and clan divisions, dangerous to national unity. The bills were, however, an over-large package to introduce on the eve of self-government, and seemed to pre-empt crucial decisions which properly belonged to a Papua New Guinean, not a colonial administration. Moreover, there were anxieties still among Papua New Guineans, and among some resident Australians, about the proposals. The titles were still highly negotiable. There was an extremely heavy reliance on a system of skilled bureaucratic administration, both in the registration process to establish the titles, and then in the control system to prevent them being alienated casually and carelessly. People were much more sceptical in 1971–72 than they were in the heyday of African decolonisation. Papua New Guinean Independence has come at a later stage, and the high hopes which people entertained then, about the future of new states and new social systems have now given way to a much more pervasive cynicism. The expectation that parliamentary democracy and multi-party states will be the norm has of course long been vitiated by African experience. So too, has the blithe expectation that bureaucracies created by professional training (under the British particularly) would be professional, sensitive, and hold to an ethos of public service free of corruption. The trend in all bureaucracies is towards something rather

less than that, and it is unreasonable to expect that Papua New Guinea is likely to be exempt from this trend. Indeed, a very courageous article by Patrick Boyce in the *Melbourne Age* of 15 September 1975, written from Port Moresby, shows the Independence-eve weaknesses already apparent.

One is now sceptical too, that industrialization will follow as the norm of development, with thriving industries providing employment for the surplus rural population, and those who remain in the rural sector becoming prosperous small-holders. This, alas, has rarely proved to be the case; rather there is an aggregation of urban unemployment, or underemployment, and misuse and under-use of the land in the rural districts. The lands division of FAO also has reservations about the general applicability of systematic land registration. Systematic registration is a very expensive process that few of the new nations can afford. It requires a fairly elaborate bureaucracy, which is manipulable by the present generation of chiefs, big-men or entrepreneurs. It is also rigidifying in that it tends to parcel out and demarcate land holdings for the prevailing patterns of farming, whereas rapidly changing crop patterns and price structures may soon require some quite different size and form of holding. People in Papua New Guinea have read about 'the false start in Africa', and they are more thoughtful about interfering with traditional institutions. It was this kind of scepticism which led to the withdrawal of the 1971 land bills and the setting up by the Somare coalition government of the all-Papua New Guinean Commission of Enquiry, to look quite fundamentally into what they wanted to do about their land rights.

Now some anthropologists, for instance, looking very sceptically at what has happened in the Third World, are inclined to suggest 'don't do anything about Papua New Guinean land. Don't meddle. Leave it alone. They'll work it out'. But, as indicated earlier, the traditional scene is already seriously disturbed – it is already subject to new tensions and new pressures. That in part is what Papua Besena, the Papuan separatist movement, is about – the thrust of Chimbu people into lightly-populated Papuan lands, and the fear among Papuans that they will take control of these lands.

There is also the problem of the growing urban sector needing food, already suffering malnutrition and very inflated food prices. The rural sector must certainly produce more fresh food for the townspeople. And there is also the danger of rural boredom and malaise, with the kind of run-down slums and under-used lands which prevail in parts of Polynesia – the men gone to the city, the villages half-empty, at least of active men, the land under-used, and the complex system of traditional rights an empty shell, likely to collapse at any moderate pressure – indeed, inviting collapse and a radical reorientation of land rights. There are signs that this too is developing in parts of Papua New Guinea, so it is not really possible or responsible to say we can do nothing with the land policy in Papua New Guinea except just to go away and leave it alone.

The basic attitudes of the Papua New Guinean Government are pertinent to the whole attack on the problem. Late in 1972, by unanimous resolution, all parties in

the House of Assembly accepted an 8 point programme for social and economic development in Papua New Guinea. This has since been translated into the 'National Goals' of the new constitution. These goals include a complex balance between entrepreneurship and egalitarianism. To quote some of the phrases of the National Goals: every effort is to be made to achieve 'an equitable distribution of incomes and other benefits from development among individuals and throughout various parts of the country'. There is to be 'a maximization of the number of citizens participating in every aspect of development'. Active steps are to be taken 'to facilitate the organization and legal recognition of groups engaged in development activity . . . and the means to ensure that every citizen can exercise his personal creativity in enterprise, consistent with the common good, and for no citizen to be deprived of this opportunity because of the predominant position of another'. 'Particular emphasis in our economic development is to be placed on small-scale artisan, service and business activity.' 'Traditional villages and communities are to remain as viable units of Papua New Guinean society, and active steps are to be taken to improve their cultural, social, economic and ethical quality.' There is then a desire to preserve something of that traditional balance between entrepreneurship and egalitarianism which obtained in the traditional subsistence economy.

The attitude of the nine members of the Commission of Enquiry with whom the author was privileged to work in 1973, also reflected this kind of balance of aspirations. Almost every member of that Commission was, in some sense, a successful entrepreneur. Some had individual holdings – quite extensive ones, including plantations; one was a leader in the village credit movement; one was developing a finance corporation; one was a licenced liquor trader; another was a successful bureaucrat who had used his opportunities to acquire a house site on individual title. All these men were undoubtedly committed to the continuation of some kind of entrepreneurial activity. But they were all surprisingly willing to commit themselves to a limitation in the scope and opportunity which they could indulge. This is illustrated by the case of a Northern District farmer who had got an individual title under the colonial Australian legislation to a permanent heritable estate, which he was free under the law to transfer without reference to any former customary right-holder. But he frankly acknowledged that he could not possibly consider transferring it without reference to somebody in the group from which it was originally derived. What he wanted was a permanent right of use. As far as transfer was concerned, the group, he believed, still had residual rights. There was another entrepreneur who had a 99 year lease. He was quite willing that it should be cut back to 60 years, to be in conformity with the recommended lease for European planters. (The Commission was trying to avoid racial discrimination). That was enough for him, and for his son. Beyond that, he wasn't too concerned to look. There was the case of the Bougainville developer who had got a handsome offer from a mission which saw the writing on the wall and decided to unload some of its surplus unused land, and made the offer to its favourite son, who was a member of the Commission. But the Commission had already resolved that any such land – such windfalls – should go into the local District Land Board to be allocated to applicants selected on the basis of need and other considerations. He put his case to the Commission, to see if by looking at a hard situation for one of their own number,

there would be any variation. And there was none whatsoever. He was out in about two minutes and the issue was resolved against him.

When the Commission toured the districts of Papua New Guinea, what it found in many local areas was a similar aspiration to preserve something of this balance. In some cases there was a strong desire to restructure fairly traditional kinds of controls, but in other cases there was a recognition that the old system of leadership and allocation of land rights had failed. Some thought the best thing to do was to scrap it altogether. But what they wanted to create in its place was some kind of corporate land-holding group which would hold the basic title to the land, and the elected leadership of that group would allocate the rights within it to various members of the corporation.

For all these reasons, the Commission of Enquiry recommended principally the registration of group title, and underneath the group title subsidiary rights of use – only use – to individuals, although it did say these use rights could be heritable. It also recommended limited direct transfer – some direct selling or leasing of small-holdings by the group to outsiders. This was partly so that land transfer could by-pass what was known to be a very slow-moving bureaucracy, a bureaucracy which many feared would get worse rather than better, and also to break down excessive tribalism and promote a fairly free interchange of land among individuals. However, rather contradictorily, the Commission postulated a battery of restrictions, including a limit to the number of registered holdings a man could have (one town house and one rural holding), and the requirement that he must reside normally on his land. These kinds of restrictions, intended to prevent speculation and absentee ownership, would require a battery of bureaucrats if there is to be effective implementation.

This is really the nub of the problem in Papua New Guinea, as in many countries which are trying to modernise traditional subsistence-oriented land tenure patterns. The difficulty, when one starts bringing land out of the customary system and giving it any degree of mobility at all, is to stop it becoming much more mobile than one had intended. There is the constant threat of people who know how to work the system, constantly fiddling it, and creating large land aggregations on the one hand and landlessness on the other. A case in Port Moresby vividly brought this tendency to light late last year. There was a site outside the new complex of government offices, which was reserved for a canteen serving drinks and lunches to the thousands of civil servants – a little gold mine, as everybody knew. The allocation of that site was supposed to go through a board which would advertise and hear applications in a public hearing. But it was at the discretion of responsible authorities in the Lands Department to by-pass that process and grant it by licence without advertisement and public hearing, and this is what occurred. The direct grant, to someone of importance, was not illegal, and there was even some doubt in Papua New Guinea terms whether it was improper. But it did indicate the kinds of pressures that immediately prevailed as soon as a negotiable piece of land became available, and an indication of how similar proceedings might develop on an extensive scale. This is not, incidentally, a comment on the relative morality of Papua New Guineans and

Australians. There are plenty of examples of influence being brought to bear in the matter of Australian land titles.

With regard to the Commission's recommendations, there is also the serious problem about limiting the size of the group, where land is registered in group title. Once one has created a legal entity named Clan X, every person who claims descent from Clan X, wherever he is living, can claim to be a title-holder in that land. Residence on the land, and active membership of the group, the other traditional means of claiming land rights, has much less standing than claims by 'descent'.

What is under discussion now in Port Moresby, and not yet resolved, is a system of *recording rights of use* in land rather than *registration of titles*. There are two ways to achieve registration of land. The first in the Australian-American tradition, where the land is surveyed and mapped, and titles to pieces of land are then allocated to settlers. The entries that appear in the register are conclusive proof of who has title. That is fine, if one is dealing with freely available land, and can ignore any claims that indigenous people may make. But in Papua New Guinea, there is the complex of intersecting traditional rights, which are not easy to ignore, especially against the pressures which prevail today. So the second method for arriving at registered title may be more appropriate – that is, the Western European one, where over long centuries, patterns of use changed over the land, until it got more and more defined and clearcut form, until finally, in the nineteenth century, at the *end* of the process, registration is added to tidy the whole thing up. It is this approach which is now under evaluation in Port Moresby. It permits a degree of flexibility which could accommodate quite radically changing patterns of land use, and demographic changes. People are reluctant to interpose in a swiftly changing society a fairly rigid system of title. But local agreements on *use* could be recorded – agreements that X could use Y piece of land for a defined period of years, that the succession to an unexpired tenure could pass to Z, that compensation should be paid for improvements at such and such a rate. These kinds of agreement could be recorded in local offices and the land marked, to a reasonable level of accuracy, by locally-based survey technicians. The recorded agreement would not be an indefeasible title like a Torrens title. But neither does it require the level of efficiency, probity (and cost) in the lands administration, nor the standard of survey, which the Torrens system requires, and which Papua New Guinea does not look like possessing in the immediately foreseeable future.

The system of recorded interests would not extinguish customary rights, as would systematic registration and conversion of title; but it would cut back the intersecting rights of kinsmen to enable a farmer to protect his improvements and secure his return. It would provide strong evidence of *bona fide* agreements, among customary right-holders and between customary right-holders and outsiders – evidence which would be regarded in the courts as 'substantial', though not 'conclusive' proof of the interests in the land in the event of dispute. This whole approach assumes that disputes will arise and adjustments continue to be made during possibly a quite lengthy period of transition to settled farming patterns. An essential part of the process then is to couple the system of recording with an acceptable system of local

land courts and to give those courts a suitable set of principles under which to make adjustments. It will be of great importance that justice in land matters will be available to citizens in out-district Courts. That is why a key piece of legislation in the current development of Papua New Guinea's land laws is the *Land Disputes Settlement Act* of March 1975. This provides for a decentralised machinery of mediation, arbitration and appeal (instead of the former centralised Land Titles Commission) and gives the courts powers not just to determine 'ownership' (which was the emphasis of the previous Act), but to make quite complex dispositions of the rights in land to accommodate the needs and equities of a changing scene.

Hopefully they will solve some of the problems between individuals, retain a degree of flexibility, and at the same time cut back the complex of traditional rights to allow entrepreneurship and some kind of rural vitality to develop. It still sees land, to some extent, as the basis of social relations, not just a commodity to be traded as part of the competitive commercial economy. One may yet remain sceptical about this approach, but certainly one must also hesitate to do anything more to damage fundamentally the one great social security which Papua New Guinean people have, that is the right to grow crops on their own family land. In these days of political and economic uncertainties, with prices for tropical produce fluctuating wildly, it would be irresponsible to break away from the customary social security system any more than one need.

The question of distribution of rights as between groups is probably more difficult. The system of recording will allow the granting of some use rights which, over a period of time, will become more and more permanent, and be accepted as such by the original right-holders. But there is also likely to be some competition between migrants, who come lawfully, bring their kin, and later on establish a claim to proprietorship, or something akin thereto. In the peri-urban areas of Papua New Guinea this is already a source of serious tension, and it is here, probably, that the state will need to interpose itself more firmly, and perhaps go through with a complete system of registration, whereby the rights of either party are very carefully delineated. Moreover, it is probably only here that the state will have the capacity to do this task properly.

The question of valuation of land, however, remains critical in this discussion of egalitarianism. It relates to the question of whether an open market in land should be created. So far the government in Papua New Guinea controls most transactions in registered land except for small areas of freehold, and long leaseholds created in the early colonial period. To create a much wider open market, even in small-holdings, as the Commission of Enquiry recommended, would almost certainly lead to a rapid escalation in land values of the kind that has occurred in Micronesia and Malaysia. The Tanzanian system of valuation by improvements only is gaining some favour in Papua New Guinea now. It is applied in the case of the Australian planters' lands, which, in some cases, are being acquired by compulsory process, and the planters are being compensated, not at market value (which would be very low in Papua New Guinea now), but on the value of improvements, measured by the net annual profits. At the time of writing, payments for plantations are at the rate of net

annual profit averaged over five years and multiplied by a factor of three. To carry this principle through into the land transactions of Papua New Guineans, as well as white planters, will require quite a considerable effort of will on the part of the Somare government. But if they are going to keep land values down and so within reach of land-short citizens, they must do this. No doubt unofficial and even illegal dealings will continue, but they will be on less secure titles (and so less preferred) than government can grant on its own land or record on customary land. Ideally, however, this requires government acquisition of a pool of land to offer in competition with the private market, and that will not be an easy operation.

Brief mention must be made of other aspects of egalitarianism in land rights. The take-over of plantation lands under the government's repurchase scheme was at first intended to relieve local clans suffering real land shortage, or to assuage grievances where the original land acquisition was very inequitable. But it has become more widespread, partly owing to economic nationalism and regional jealousies. The Gazelle Peninsula clans which have been land short, could, if the process continues, become very land wealthy, by taking over highly developed Australian plantations. That has implications for Melanesian egalitarianism. So too, has the spate of claims for compensation for urban lands alleged to have been acquired improperly during the colonial regime. Some of these claims, for millions of dollars, based on improved urban valuation, are clearly out of line in a situation where the government is under financial constraint and supposedly committed to a programme of social justice and equality. But what value to place on them, who gets a compensation payment, and at what level, is one of the day to day political problems that the government faces. Whereas the Department of Lands has calculated the amount of land likely to be the subject of compensation payments, and tried to work out a rate which is equitable and which the country can afford, two payments greatly in excess of that rate were made in 1975. One came from a group in Wewak, after they had cut off the water supply to the town's hospital to press their claim. The other was a payment of $120,000 in respect of about 20 hectares in Port Moresby; here the unresolved grievance was fuel to Papuan separatism and a probable election issue. But these two cases will have to be treated as exceptional, otherwise the cost to the government will be something like $20,000,000, if the rate offered in Wewak was carried through consistently to aggrieved groups elsewhere. In this context, the kind of budgetary squeeze to which the Papua New Guinea government was subjected by the Australian government in 1975 may do no great harm. In general there has been a fairly blithe tendency to buy off pressure groups and a somewhat tighter budget could lead to a firmer sense of principle.

In land matters generally there is a strong latent danger that an irresolute government might give way to sectional and speculative demands and let deals go ahead, for example, with Japanese commercial agents who are not beyond offering attractive arrangements in return for the sale of rights to use local land. Today's politicians lament, and perhaps despise, the ignorance of the ancestors who sold land for glass beads or turkey-red cloth. But today's politicians must take care not to succumb to a new version of glass beads – an attractive, superficial deal with few

long-term benefits. Peter Sack has warned of the disaster which would occur were community interest surrendered to private interest on a large scale. 'Papua New Guinea a sick country, its people plagued by greed and envy, still nursing their by now, entirely fictional, colonial grievances and still dreaming of a glorified traditional past, which they were not strong enough to turn into the basis for a decent future.'[1]

He paints a fairly extravagant picture, but as Sack rightly entitles his book, the question of land rights, and the social consequences of it, is a problem of choice, of values, and of political will.

Notwithstanding the statements of principle in the National Goals of the constitution, the choices of social goals, and the land policies which will underpin them still have to be truly made in Papua New Guinea. A careful respect for the traditional balance between individual enterprise and community interest, will indeed help retain the loyalty of the people, and help make Papua New Guinea more genuinely one. Much will depend on the techniques that can be devised to maintain that balance in respect of land rights.

[1]Peter G. Sack, *Problem of Choice: land in Papua New Guinea's future*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1974, pp 6–7.

The Planning Experience in Nigerian Agriculture

M. O. IJERE*

Introduction

For centuries, agriculture has been the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, employing about 75 per cent of the nation's labour force. Before its predominant position was successfully challenged by mineral oil in 1965, it provided most of the revenue for the importation of machinery and other capital goods for industrial and general development. Despite the obvious attractions of oil, the importance of agriculture is realised, and this is indicated in Nigerian development plans. It is generally believed that the problem of agriculture is not so much the competition from oil as inadequate planning. This means that if available resources were well utilised the whole agricultural picture would change, and from being a second-rate industry it would emerge in the forefront, employing the most modern techniques, and making food shortages a thing of the past.[1]

In this article we shall examine the nature of planning experience in the agricultural sector. We shall also critically appraise the planning machinery, and demonstrate what lessons it can provide for the future development of agriculture in Nigeria.

The knowledge of post-independence agricultural planning is not complete without an idea of what took place in the period before national independence.

I Pre-Independence Agricultural Planning

The first attempt at planning in the Nigerian economy is usually dated from 1945, when Britain required Nigeria, in line with its other colonial territories, to submit a Ten-Year Plan of Development, related to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of that time. This plan, launched in 1946, was prepared by a central Development Board consisting of government officials. In each of the three regions an Area Committee advised the Central Development Board. The Area Committees in turn were advised by provincial and district area committees, all composed of senior

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[1]Ebong, I. J., 'The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development', *Proceedings of the National Agricultural Development Seminar*, Ibadan, 1971, pp 7–11.

officials of government. Although attempts were made at consultation, the resulting 1946–55 plan was an amalgam of individual projects, neither co-ordinated nor related to any overall economic target. It laid emphasis only on the expansion of existing facilities, ignored industrial development, and in agriculture concentrated attention only on the export sector.

As a result of the federal set-up in 1954, and the suggestions of the World Bank Mission to Nigeria in 1953, each of the three regions and the central government set up strong individualistic programmes. Although they had economic considerations, they nevertheless duplicated one another's efforts. It was to obviate this that a National Economic Council (NEC) was established in 1955. It served also as a forum for various governments to meet and iron out differences. The NEC was supported by a technical committee called the Joint Planning Committee, made up of regional and central government officials drawn from the Ministries of Trade, Finance, Economic Planning, Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Central Bank. The responsibility for co-ordination rested with the Federal Ministry of Economic Development, which also created an Economic Planning Unit to take care of each economic sector, including agriculture.[1]

II Post-Independence Agricultural Planning

The 1962–68 National Development Plan was the first realistic and national plan of Nigeria. In it, attempts were made to co-ordinate the various regional and federal programmes. The Ministry of Agriculture in each region submitted its proposals to the Regional Ministry of Economic Planning which, in turn, prepared a comprehensive state plan for the attention of the Regional Executive Council. The same procedure was followed at the federal level. When the various Executive Councils had approved the programmes, they were presented to the Joint Planning Council (JPC) which, after its own study of them, and making appropriate amendments, submitted them to the National Executive Council.

Looked at on the criterion of a well-articulated plan, the 1962–68 Development Plan was not a centrally conceived, but rather an amalgam of federal and regional plans, collated in one volume. But to its credit, the projects were more logically related to one another than in the previous plans. The development plan also made it possible for a minimum average growth target (15 per cent) to be evolved for the national economy.

Despite the conscious efforts of the JPC and NEC to harmonise the various programmes, there were difficulties which prevented them reaching an optimum success. The first was the constant change in ministry representatives, who, had continuity been maintained, could have fructified the exercise with their experience. The second obstacle was the divorce of planners from executives. Thirdly, private sector participation was minimal. And fourthly, as a result of strong attachment to regional autonomy, the central government was powerless to alter plan priorities in any significant way.

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[1]F.A.O.: *Agricultural Development in Nigeria* 1965–1980 FAO/UN. Rome 1966, pp 281–292.

The Nigerian civil war which began in 1967, brought the 1962–68 plan to an abrupt end. Till January 1970, a war economy was pursued. Its direct effect on the next national plan was to preclude the use of the planning machinery – the (JPC) and (NEC), and so the 1970–74 Second Development Plan was hurriedly brought into existence.

Each State and federal ministry of agriculture prepared its own plans, which were collated and discussed under the umbrella of the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction. A Conference of Planners replaced the JPC. It established national criteria and served as the clearing-house for competing claims of state and federal ministries.

The 1970–74 plan is regarded as the first truly national and fully integrated plan which views the national economy as an organic whole. The plan attempted to minimise inconsistencies and wasteful duplication, by ensuring that the various programmes were integrated sector by sector. Of equal importance, is the fact that the plan had a set of national objectives which expressed the social philosophy of the nation.

The Third National Development Plan 1975–80, differs significantly from the previous plans in many ways.

It provides for a Central Planning Office at the federal level, which not only plans for the Federal Government, but co-ordinates and harmonises the planning activities of the state governments, making it possible to produce guidelines for the private sector. The Ministries of Agriculture were expected to have their individual sectoral planning units staffed by economists, agriculturists, sociologists and other professionally-qualified personnel. For the first time administrative staff were to be relieved of involvement in planning matters.[1] The Central Planning Office is a vital link in the planning system. It provides secretarial services for the Joint Planning Board, the National Advisory Council and the Conference of Commissioners responsible for Economic Planning and Development. It also finalises draft plan documents which the Federal Executive Council and the Supreme Military Council have to consider.

The Plan provides for a continuing dialogue between the private sector and public sector; and so as to incorporate the private sector investments meaningfully, rather than assume them, it makes use of the National Economic Advisory Council, established in 1972. This body, comprises senior officials of the economic ministries, the universities, the Chambers of Commerce and the trade unions. By regular consultations they generate ideas on what the private sector, which employs about 95 per cent Nigerians, most of them in agriculture, contribute, and what support the sector merits.

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[1]While the Third Development Plan envisages a total elimination of administrators from the planning process, it has, by involving civil commissioners, in fact made the administrators indispensable.

The Plan also provides a forum for Commissioners responsible for planning in each economic sector to meet fairly regularly. This is the Conference of Commissioners whose meetings help to iron out bottlenecks in the Plan and to improve plan administration.

While the conference of commissioners is concerned with broad issues of policy and the harmonisation and co-ordination of federal and state plans, a new body – the Joint Planning Board – was set up to discuss the purely technical and professional aspects of planning.

In order to provide the policy framework to identify and articulate federal and state programmes, the plan embodies certain guidelines or goals, to which each economic sector is expected to direct its projects and programmes, so that the target or minimum efforts foreseen for each public sector within the overall national economy can be attained.

To overcome the danger of slow implementation consequent on poor project preparation, the plan provides for sectoral consultative groups, notably for Agriculture, Transport, Health, Education and Industry, whose responsibility is to identify, study and design each project. They operate on a federal level, though they can be loaned to the state governments. In this way, wasteful duplication of effort is avoided; portfolios of concrete projects are presented either for federal or state financing; and unnecessary departures from approved plans are obviated. This is possible because the teams of experts in their feasibility studies, would have looked into the resources of each state, and evolved a proper division of labour and areas of co-operation, which should very greatly reduce the possibility of late amendments being needed to any particular project.

The above innovations have been designed to remedy the faults in agricultural and general economic planning in Nigeria during the last two decades. Development plans have to pass through such bodies as the National Economic Advisory Council, the Joint Planning Board, the Conference of Commissioners, the Federal Executive Council and the Supreme Military Council, the last two being the political authorities. In addition, efforts have been made to involve as many knowledgeable and interested persons and groups as possible in the planning process.

III Review of Problems in Agricultural Planning

Colonial agricultural planning was geared to the encouragement of export crop production. As a result food crops were ignored. Similarly, industries were not promoted, and all stages of processing and manufacture of raw materials were carried out in the metropolitan country.

There was no planning bureau as such. The central government depended on proposals made by department heads, regional governments, and the demands of trading companies. The Department of Agriculture,[1] was given the functions of

[1]Established in 1910.

research, data collection and the stimulation of agricultural education and extension, but was incapable of undertaking planning for lack of staff and other resources.

The planning exercise was deficient for a variety of reasons; namely (*a*) non-involvement of the bulk of Nigerians whom the plan sought to benefit; (*b*) little or no expert training among the administrators working on the plan; (*c*) inadequate administrative machinery to provide the high-level man-power needed to carry out the plan implementation; and (*d*) the absence of goals and objectives to articulate the whole programme.[1]

The determined effort to improve the above deficiencies in the 1955–62 period, is seen in the setting up of a strongly political and bureaucratic organisation with a powerful centre. The same mechanisms were carried into the post-independence plans, terminating with the civil war. But political and administrative constraints on agricultural planning contributed to their weakness. First, there was the strong attachment to regional autonomy, by which each region jealously guarded its constitutional rights to deal exclusively with subjects contained within its own portfolio. As it turned out, although the apparatus for dialogue on a national basis was present, what actually emerged was a catalogue of unco-ordinated state plans.

The same situation applied to research, which though on the concurrent federal regional list, became the main pre-occupation of the regions, in such a way that the results of federal research could only be utilised at the pleasure of the regions with their extension services.[2]

Up to 1972, there was hardly an effective planning organisation for agriculture in all Nigeria. There was a general disdain for agricultural planning. As a result agricultural matters were largely settled within the ambit of the Ministry of Economic Planning. What appeared to be planning as discussed above, did not go deep enough to tackle the specific problems of agriculture. Nelson Nwosu cites the case of East Central State to support his argument that the Ministry of Agricultural Resources of that State in 1972, lacked a planning division which could take full responsibility for collection and collation of agricultural statistics as recommended by the FAO, and for co-ordinating development programme planning. What the Ministry has is an ineffective programming unit which is not yet organised to carry out this important task.[3]

What was said of East Central State applies equally to other states of the federation. It is this state of affairs that was responsible for the lack of viable projects at the

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[1]Niculeseu, B., *Colonial Planning*. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 1958, pp 15–68.

[2]Ayida, A. A., 'Basic Issues in Financing Nigerian Agriculture in the Seventies', *Proceedings of the National Agricultural Development Seminar*, Ibadan, 1971, p 30.

[3]Nwosu, N. A., 'The Ministry of Agricultural and Natural Resources: A Review of Policy and Structure'. Paper submitted to the Ijere *Committee on Agricultural Development in East Central State*. Enugu, 1972, p 12.

state level to qualify for federal financial support, and the consequent non-absorption of the vast sums of money made available for agricultural expansion.[1] In the First National Development Plan, some 43 per cent of budgeted funds for agriculture were unspent. And in the first two years of the second plan, also, about 50 per cent of the funds could not be spent.[2]

Another reason for the failure to utilise funds was shortage of trained manpower in the planning units (*a*) to make the necessary feasibility studies for attracting federal assistance; (*b*) to execute major projects and (*c*) to supply relevant information in the diverse areas of agriculture, while at the same time bridging the communication gap between the field staff and the administrators at headquarters. These deficiencies are foreseen and provided for in the 1975–80 plan, but there are indications that the solutions are not yet adequate.

IV Some Guidelines for a Suitable Agricultural Planning Organisation

In the light of the above survey, we shall now suggest a few guidelines which can be beneficial to future agricultural planning in Nigeria.

The first is that agricultural ministries should have their own planning units quite apart from the provisions of the Ministry of Economic Planning. Such a unit would be charged with the responsibility for:

a evolving a suitable agricultural policy;

b originating plans and putting goals and potential growth possibilities in agriculture in a form amenable to discussion and action;

c Designing, studying and executing agricultural projects, and

d Co-ordinating the various development projects in agriculture and related sectors in the economy.

Secondly, success in planning assumes the availability of data, not only in agriculture but also in other related fields. Planning without facts is meaningless. Therefore, the planning divisions or units should interest themselves in collecting reliable agricultural data, and to further accelerate this, they should develop a library for the support of their activities as a prelude to the establishment of an Agricultural Data Bank.

Thirdly, as mentioned above, the agricultural planning unit should be a semi-autonomous body, separate from the regular government ministries, with financial allocations from the budget. On this basis, it can go into capital investment projects, thus circumventing the delays, the bureaucratic red tape and the political orientation of ministries.

This is not to say that the planning unit should work in isolation, but that it should

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[1] *op cit*, A. A. Ayida, p 31.

[2] Federation of Nigeria: *Second National Development Plan* 1970–74. First Progress Report. Lagos, 1972, p 71.

liaise with the policy-making body and the operation departments, leaving top management to co-ordinate the various departments and divisions in the ministries.

Finally, the choice of agricultural planners should be guided by the needs of the rural community. For this reason, planning for agriculture should include experts with versatile educational backgrounds, training, and experience, such as agriculturists, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, agricultural engineers, statisticians, legal experts, administrators and town-planners. Such a body would be well placed to provide an overview of agriculture in its totality.

The Human and Social Implications of Earthquake Risk for Developing Countries*

K. N. WESTGATE & P. O'KEEFE**

TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED MITIGATION STRATEGY

The human and social implications of earthquake risk are many. In basic terms an earthquake can result in lives being lost, property damaged or destroyed and economies disrupted. The implications for the individual are the potential loss of family and friends, injury and the destruction of dwelling and workplace. The sum total of these effects gives an impression of the community burden. However, despite some mitigative measures, there appears to be no apparent decrease in the recurrent death toll and destruction of property. Indeed, available figures reveal an alarming upward trend in the number of deaths from such geophysical hazards as earthquakes, especially in developing countries.[1] Each time an earthquake disaster occurs the donations of emergency relief arrive from international sources, although local self-help has often already met the requirements for immediate aid. Concern is expressed through the media which promotes a short-term, armchair involvement for audiences far removed from the actual scenes of destruction.

In six weeks the events are often forgotten. Two questions remain pertinent: firstly, what should be considered as the real implications of earthquake risk for a population; and, secondly, having identified these implications, what then must be our priorities?

Much research has been undertaken in recent years in the United States which attempts to lay down certain strategies for the mitigation of earthquake risk. These strategies are based on the knowledge that certain features of the earthquake hazard

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[1]See statistical analysis of disaster occurrence in Dworkin, J. (1974): 'Global Trends in Natural Disasters, 1947–73'. *Natural Hazard Research Working Paper No 26, Institute of Behavioural Science, University of Colorado*; Baird, A.; O'Keefe, P.; Westgate, K.; Wisner, B. (1975): 'Towards an Explanation and Reduction of Disaster Proneness, Disaster Research Unit, Occasional Paper No 11, University of Bradford.

imply potentially grave losses to inhabitants of seismic regions in the USA. Some of these research findings and their implications can be listed as:

1 The destruction of buildings caused by energy transmitted through vibrations of the ground.
2 The effects of tsunamis, especially on coastal communities, involving destruction by water and inundation.
3 The compound nature of many earthquake disasters involving not just the quake itself, but also fire from the shorting of electricity cables or the fracturing of gas pipes.
4 Earthquake activity in the region of major dams which could result in flash flooding, or the failure of sloping land producing massive landslips and avalanches.[1]

The strategies undertaken in the United States to counteract such potential effects include: '(i) Attempts at reduction/prevention of earthquakes *per se*; (ii) Earthquake and tsunami-resistant construction; (iii) Land use management; (iv) Attempts to forecast and disseminate earthquake and tsunami warnings; (v) Insuring structures against earthquake and tsunami damage; (vi) Efforts to prevent or minimize associated hazards such as fire and landslide; and (vii) Efforts to prepare the community to respond promptly and adequately when disaster does strike'.[2]

These strategies, it is assumed, given adequate concentration of time and effort, could lead to successful disaster mitigation in the United States and, equally, other more developed countries. The problem for developed countries is essentially an urban one and increasing urban growth and massive collections of people in large, sophisticated, industrial centres create special problems in seismic zones and require equally sophisticated and highly-technological answers.

The problems are different for developing countries which lack the organised urban centres prevalent in the West. Where urban centres occur, they are physically often of a different character containing as they do a large proportion of migrant or semi-migrant labour from the rural areas who hope to implement their meagre rural incomes with paid urban employment. Developing countries also lack much of the technological expertise, sophistication, wealth and resources of industrialised countries. Indeed, the problems of developing countries are often not answerable by the super-imposition of Western technology and methods on to a political, social and economic system of an entirely different nature.[3] What is required is a successful strategy for countries struggling to maintain economic viability – *disaster mitigation must take place within the context of development as a whole.*

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[1] See White, G. F.; Haas, J. E. (1975): *Assessment of Research on Natural Hazards. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Westgate, K. (1975). 'The Human Response to Disaster: an Analysis of Individual and Community Response to Natural Hazards'. Unpublished M.Sc. thesis, Postgraduate School of Planning, University of Bradford, pp 211–214.

The question is one of scale. An earthquake in a developing country can seriously disrupt the whole economy of the country and has grave repercussions for development programmes. A successful disaster mitigation strategy acts as an insurance of this development.[1]

A first step in an approach to successful disaster mitigation in the developing countries is to remember that disasters are about people: *without people there can be no disaster*.[2] It is imperative therefore that disaster strategies be orientated towards the vulnerability of the population.

Secondly, the concentration of effort and resources into the period immediately following an earthquake occurrence is often an exaggeration of the actual needs and requirements of a stricken population during that period. Massive inputs of relief aid often lead to dependence by the people on such relief. Dependency of this kind can lead to distortions of the existing socio-economic condition and an increase in the vulnerability of a population to further disaster and further dependency.[3] For example, Davis cites the problems of temporary housing in Managua after the 1972 earthquake:

> Although the US government AID housing is built with a 2 year life expectation, it is more than likely that they will last, in modified form, for up to 20 years. In a city like Managua with its predisaster deficit of 8,000 houses it is unthinkable that the authorities will have the finance to re-house the 60–90,000 occupants of these houses. This would therefore indicate the need for upgrading the standard of houses. This would include internal sanitation, more permanent construction, other buildings on the site – for shopping, social needs etc.[4]

Davis refers to these temporary houses as instant slums; in other words, the 'temporary' housing becomes permanent and because the construction is temporary it is liable to rapid deterioration.

Emergency aid immediately following an earthquake is vital but these immediate requirements, in the first instance, can often be adequately accommodated by self-help supplied by the population itself and by the various voluntary agencies whose appeal for public support requires prompt and visible results. Consideration should be given to diverting resources away from the disaster event itself towards the identification of disaster potential and the mitigation of *future* disaster occurrence by the promotion of *appropriate* measures.

Thirdly, the re-orientation of resources towards the mitigation of future disaster occurrence implies encouraging developing countries towards a greater self-reliance

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[1] Baird *et al* (1975) *op cit*, pp 44–48.

[2] *Ibid* p 1.

[3] *Ibid* p 34.

[4] Davis, I. (1974). 'Managua, December 23rd 1972: the Provision of Shelter in the Aftermath of Natural Disasters – Report on Housing Strategy, December 1972–September 1973'. Research Project Report No 2, School of Environmental Studies, University College, University of London, p 136.

in coping with disaster. It does not imply that catering for the immediate needs of a disaster-stricken population is not a necessary direction for resources but that these needs are but one aspect of a continuing programme of disaster mitigation measures integrated into development plans. Action of this kind will tend not only to decrease a population's vulnerability to disaster occurrence but also act as *an insurance of the development plans themselves*. Disasters interrupt development programmes to a great degree and appropriate mitigative measures can decrease the possible losses.

With the promotion of self-reliance at its core, a disaster mitigation policy for the developing countries should bear in mind four vital points:

1) Disasters are not just isolated events but are recurring phenomena.[1] For example, Managua was damaged by earthquakes in 1885, 1931, 1968 and 1972. An earthquake can therefore be expected to occur again in the future. This fact tends to be reflected in the lives of the population to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the frequency of occurrence. Populations of earthquake areas tend not to reveal this trait so much as, say, those living within known hurricane paths, but it is surprising how much knowledge is passed from generation to generation. The population, consciously or unconsciously, respond in their lives by action or attitude, to the future earthquake threat. Disaster is, thus, a continuing process. *Just as this fact is often reflected in local attitudes, so equally it should be reflected in disaster aid.* Trainer talking of the 1972 Managua earthquake recognises this problem:

> Each time there is a major disaster, those who face the issues and make the decisions tend to start anew, treating the situation in their city as a unique case.[2]

2) Efforts at the provision of adequate defences against disaster should concentrate on the promotion of self-reliance. This implies the use of local resources and technologies wherever possible.[3] Local communities have much to teach us in the realm of mitigative strategies which are effective in their own particular environment although they may lack the resources and education to observe the full range of probable strategies. Selective foreign technology; methods and ideas should only be utilised where they are appropriate to the culture and resource utilisation of the local population.

3) In developing countries, it is essential that attempts at disaster mitigation be incorporated into development planning as an insurance of development.[4] It has already been stated that disaster should be seen as a continuing process. Development planning is also a continuing process and disaster mitigation strategies should quite properly find their place within this development strategy and not be considered as an isolated exercise. With the heavy concentration of effort in the emer-

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[1] Westgate (1975), *op cit* p 1; Baird *et al* (1975), *op cit* pp 1–2.

[2] Trainer, P. (1975). *Research on Reconstruction Following Disaster: Working Paper No 2 – Managua.* Institute of Behavioural Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, p 1.

[3] O'Keefe, P.; Wisner, B. (1975). 'African Drought – the State of the Game', in Richards, P. (Ed) *African Environment: Problems and Perspectives.* International African Institute, London, pp 31–39.

[4] Baird *et al* (1975) *op cit* pp 44–48.

gency period after a disaster occurrence and not in the context of development, it is not surprising that the stricken population find themselves frequently worse off than before and in a situation which can only be exacerbated in the future. Self-reliance is often absent and dependence on external sources for essentials is only to be expected. However, these sources eventually cease to exist.

4) Vulnerability to disaster should not be considered as a static concept. Populations have different levels of vulnerability depending upon their biophysical conditions and socio-economic status.[1] Evidence shows that the locations of prime importance for sustained mitigative activity should be those areas where the populations' vulnerability to disaster is greatest because its socio-economic status is low. *This concentration on socio-economic status is probably a more important consideration than the intensity of the disaster agent.*[2]

These four points should act as guidelines for a successful disaster mitigation strategy for developing countries. The following examples give an indication of some elements of this strategy:

a A survey and analysis of local adjustments to the particular hazard or hazards involved. *Adjustment* refers to the response made by an individual or community in the face of potential disaster which aims to counteract the occurrence of actual disaster; for example, the movement of cattle from low land to higher land in anticipation of an annual spring flood. *These local adjustment processes should be encouraged wherever possible* and only mixed with foreign methods or technologies where the latter can aid in securing the appropriate strategies for that particular population. The superimposition of sophisticated technologies requiring specialised expertise which are prevalent in more developed countries, are often totally irrelevant for many environments in developing countries and can lead, through ignorance of these methods, to greater vulnerability than before.

b A survey and analysis of local attitudes to potential disaster. These attitudes, such as fear, resignation, etc. can have a great bearing on information and education programmes. Ignorance of these attitudes can lead to wrong decisions being taken and harmful strategies being adopted.

c A survey and analysis of the effect of potential disaster on local economies. In most cases, the industrial sectors of the economy will have some degree of protection even in developing countries. It is essential that attention be focused on the damage potential to the rural population who, in the majority of developing countries are the largest single sector of the population and whose economic contribution is often the largest single factor in national production. With an orientation towards this rural population, not only will overall vulnerability to disaster decrease, but real development will be stimulated.

These examples show some of the areas where aid can contribute to successful disaster mitigation instead of a short-term relief programme which treats the immediate symptoms and not the causes of disaster which lie in the longer-term. Kates *et al.* speaking of the 1972 Managua earthquake stated that:

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[1]Westgate (1975) *op cit* Chapter 6; O'Keefe (1976) *op cit*.

[2]Baird *et al* (1975) *op cit* p 2.

Each decade, a cumulative toll of lives and property equivalent to a city of half-a-million disappears beneath mud or ash, is reduced to rubble and splinters or shrivels in the parched ground. Managua underscores the global inequity of such loss. In comparison with the San Fernando earthquake – losses in lives were one hundred times greater, in per capita losses of material, ten times greater. These accord with our scattered findings from other developing countries.[1]

Such is the gap between the developed and developing countries. Kates *et al.* go on to say that:

The central weakness in our understanding of how to reduce the high cost of natural disaster for human kind lies less with the needs of the disaster moment and more with the critical post-emergency policy decision for reconstruction.[2]

These policy decisions for developing countries must be taken within the context of development and reconstruction must be a continuous phase. The human and social implications of earthquake risk in developing countries, unless they are to continue to significantly increase, can be lessened by a successful disaster mitigation programme where the priorities are *self-reliance, a comprehension of local cultural attitudes and traits, acceptance of disaster mitigation strategies as an integral part of development planning, an acceptance of 'disaster' as an ongoing phenomenon and not as a series of isolated events, and a belief in decreasing vulnerability where the latter is greatest – among those people with a low socio-economic status.*

[1] Kates, R. W.; Haas, J. E.; Amaral, D. J.; Olson, R. A.; Ramas, R.; Olson, R. (1973): 'Human Impact of the Managua Earthquake Disaster'. Natural Hazard Research Working Paper No 33, Institute of Behavioural Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, p 35.

[2] *Ibid*, p 37.

Local Government Reform in the Benue Plateau State of Nigeria

'LADIPO ADAMOLEKUN*

Out of the six successor states to the former Northern Region of Nigeria, the Benue Plateau State has articulated one of the most radical programmes for local government reform. While the major themes in these reform proposals have been documented[1], nothing has been written about their implementation. However, neglect of this kind is a common feature in the existing literature on administrative reform. The obvious explanation is the fact that such an exercise requires an empirical investigation that is not always easy to carry out because of the cost in time and money. Recently, the author completed a six-month attachment programme with the Benue Plateau State Government which enabled him to investigate the extent to which the local government reform proposals of the State Government have been implemented.[2] What follows is the result of this investigation.

The Theory of Reform: 'Democratisation'

From the different texts of local government reform proposals published by the Benue Plateau State Government since 1968, it is clear that the Government is essentially concerned with the establishment of a 'democratic' local government system. Although the term 'democracy' has become a portmanteau word into which different people pack different things, the State Government has consistently used it in a clear and unambiguous manner. Thus, for example, a circular letter dated 7 June 1968[3] with the title 'Democratisation of Local Government in Benue Plateau State . . .' stated that:

> Democratisation of local government can be by way of direct election to local councils, and the non-perpetuation of Councillor appointments. It can also be achieved by means of the dispersal of power among the components of the Council i.e. in the relationship between the Chiefs, the Portfolio Councillors and the other Councillors.

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[1]See, for example, *Northern States of Nigeria Local Government Year Book*, 1968–1973 issues. Published by The Institute of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation).

[2]I am grateful to both the Benue Plateau State Government and the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, for making this attachment possible.

[3]Circular No SMG/LG/S/LGA/16/104 of 7th June 1968.

On the basis of this operational definition of democratic local government, the Government announced its commitment to two reforms: The abolition of Chief-in-Council and the non-perpetuation of councilliar appointment by the abolition of the post of Senior Councillor. A third reform that was implicit in the Government's statement – direct election to local councils – was ruled out because the situation in the country at present cannot permit any form of election.

Giving the reason for the abolition of the Chief-in-Council system, the circular stated that the system is only a slight improvement on the much dreaded sole Native Authority which is usually personified in a Chief. The country as a whole, and this State in particular, is in no mood to tolerate such a set up any longer. As a result, it was decided that the most popularly acceptable form would be adopted which will nevertheless take into account the position of Chiefs in society. This new set up is the 'Chief-and-Council' system which became uniformly applicable throughout the State *'with immediate effect'* (sic). The circular's reference to the post of Senior Councillor deserves to be quoted at some length:

> The institution of Senior Councillor was established by administrative action. The reason given was that it was necessary to have in the Council a person who by virtue of his length of service, has a wealth of experience on which the Council can draw. Furthermore, Native Authorities regard it as a promotion post for Heads of Departments who have served the Native Authority for long. This is, in my opinion, not in keeping with our democratic concept of representation and accountability to the general public . . . it is not necessary to have them in the Council because the service of advice on the basis of experience is already being provided by the Administrative Secretary and other Heads of Departments who are very senior Native Authority Officials. *In keeping with above, therefore, His Excellency, on the advice of his Executive Council, has also directed that the post of Senior Councillor be abolished with effect from 1st June* 1968. All the holders of this post will revert to the salaries of ordinary Portfolio Councillors with effect from the same date, when all councillors become equal. Any person holding the office of Senior Councillor who would not want to serve as ordinary Portfolio Councillor is free to retire from the service of Native Authorities and is to be paid his retiring benefits. . . .

A third reform announced by the Government was connected with the democratisation of the methods of selection and appointment of traditional rulers: Emirs, Chiefs and District Heads. The different communities in the State were made to submit for the consideration and approval of the State Government the existing practices in their respective areas. Two cases help to illustrate what the Government sought to achieve.

In August 1969, the Government issued a policy statement on the chieftaincy institution in Jos Division. The statement said that there were no specified procedures for the appointment and deposition of Chiefs. The democratic content of the Government's decision is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the post of Chief of Jos – the most important chieftaincy in the Division – was declared non-hereditary and was made open to all adults indigenous to the 13 districts of the Division. In general, in considering the procedures of selection and appointment of Emirs and Chiefs submitted to it, the Government consistently tried to reconcile respect for traditional practices with the democratic principle of representativeness.

Although this reform was embarked upon in 1969, it took nearly three years before the Government could approve the procedures of selection and appointment of Emirs and Chiefs throughout the State; the delay was caused by disagreements between the Government and certain communities over what procedures should be adopted.

The second case is connected with the post of District Heads. Since 1955, District Heads in the State were selected on the basis of the following three criteria established by the former Northern Nigeria Government:

i Acceptability to the people of the District;
ii Integrity;
iii Executive ability.

In 1969, a Government circular[1] re-affirmed these three criteria but went further to spell out the first criterion in a manner that is clearly more democratic than the former practice. While the 1955 policy was silent on how to determine the acceptability of a District Head to the people of the District, the 1969 reform stated clearly that in appointing District Heads the person selected must also be indigenous in the area over which he is being appointed the District Head. It was later made clear that to all incumbents the new procedure 'would only apply as and when the posts of District Heads become vacant (i.e. the holder dies or resigns or is properly dismissed on valid grounds)'.[2] According to the circular containing this clarification, the aim of the reform was to stop the practice in certain areas where District Heads were imposed from the Local Administration headquarters.

The fourth major reform introduced by the State Government dealt with the area units of local government activity. This was closely connected with the re-organisation of the structure of field administration in the State. The first step taken was the abolition of the existing provincial administration system. This reduced the levels of state administration from three to two: the Local Administrations (new name for the Native Authorities since October 1968)[3] deal directly with the Government's representatives within the administrative Divisions into which the State is divided and these officers, in turn, are in direct communication with the State Government at headquarters. According to the Governor, the abolition of provincial administration was aimed at 'getting the Government closer to the ordinary man'.[4]

In January 1970, the Government announced the creation of three new administrative Divisions. The former Tiv Division was re-organised into three Divisions and the former Pankshin and Lowland Divisions were reconstituted into three

[1] Circular letter No MLG/LG/S/CHI/14/34 of 31st May 1969.

[2] Circular letter No MLG/S/CHI/14/35 of 3rd July 1969.

[3] It was considered that 'Native Authority' had a colonial-era connotation and in the opinion of the Government, the survival of this terminology after independence was an anachronism which the State Government was not prepared to perpetuate.

[4] *Creation of More Divisions in Benue Plateau State of Nigeria, Text of Broadcast by His Excellency, the Military Governor, Mr J. D. Gomwalk* (Kaduna, n.d.), p 4.

Divisions. Again, as in the case of the abolition of provincial administration, the re-organisation was said to be aimed at bringing the government closer to the people. It was also hoped that the increase in the number of administrative Divisions (from nine to twelve) will enable as many people as possible to participate in running their own local affairs.[1]

Simultaneously with the re-organisation of field administration, the Government also introduced important changes in the area units of local government. When the new State Government assumed responsibility for local government in June 1967 following the creation of six states out of the former Northern Nigeria, it inherited 13 Local Administrations of which four were federated. (A federated Local Administration was a local government unit with a single treasury but with two to four Sub-Local Administrations to which certain functions and funds were delegated by the central administration). In 1970, all subordinate Local Administrations were abolished. The number of Local Administrations was increased from 13 to 15 and each was divided into a number of Districts which are considered as subordinate units to the Local Administration.[2] There is a Local Administration Council to which Councillors are appointed from the entire geographical area of the Local Administration. Similarly, each District has a Council into which Councillors are appointed from the different parts of the District. Like the other structural re-organizations carried out by the Government, the new organizational structure of the Local Administration system was said to be aimed at bringing the government closer to the governed and at promoting increased involvement of local citizens in the management of their own affairs.

In addition to the broad objective of bringing the government closer to the governed, the local government reforms were introduced 'in order that *sound administration* and *peace* will be established in various areas for the benefit of all our peoples. This is the surest way to *quick progress*' (italics added).[3] After examining the way in which the different reform proposals have been implemented, we shall pay some attention to the extent to which the objectives of participatory local democracy, 'sound administration', 'peace' and 'quick progress' have been achieved.

The Implementation of Reforms

As is the case with every administrative reform, each of those mentioned above has to be implemented in two stages: the formal legal enactment and the actual practical application of the reform with the attendant consequences for the citizens of the State vis-à-vis their local authorities. While the determination of any Government is invariably adequate for carrying through the first stage, the second stage sometimes presents considerable difficulties. In general, the chances for a successful implementation of an administrative reform depends on two critical factors: first, the degree of determination of the Government to see it through and second, the

[1] *Ibid*, p 6.

[2] For the details, see *Benue Plateau State of Nigeria Gazette*, (Jos), Vol 4, No 45, 12th November 1970.

[3] *Loc cit.*

relative strength of the articulate supporters and opponents of the reform. We shall now examine the operation of these factors in respect of the local government reforms enumerated above.

The Institution of Senior Councillor

The Government's decision to abolish the institution of Senior Councillor met with virtually no opposition. Although the thirteen individuals involved did not like this diminution in their prestige, status and power, not to mention the reduction in salary, they did not organize any opposition to it. Perhaps, the very favourable conditions put forward by the Government satisfied most if not all the incumbent Senior Councillors.

According to the Government's circular letter of June 1968 quoted above, the institution was abolished because it was not 'in keeping with . . . democratic concept of representation and accountability to the general public'. This argument is based on the assumption that Portfolio Councillors are, in fact, representatives of, and accountable to, the general public. We shall find out the validity of this assumption when we examine the working of the Chief-and-Council system.

The Chief-and-Council System

According to the Government circular letter of June 1968 (*supra*), the purpose of introducing this system of local government was to ensure 'the dispersal of power among the components of the Council i.e. in the relationship between the Chiefs, the Portfolio Councillors and the other Councillors'. In order to appreciate the significance of this reform, it should be pointed out that prior to the 1968 reform, the LAs in the State operated three different Council systems; one Council operated the Committee system, six operated the Chief-and-Council system with Portfolio Councillors and the remaining six operated the Chief-in-Council system with Portfolio Councillors.

In practical terms, the introduction of a Chief-and-Council system was only an innovation in seven local administration areas. For the Tiv Local Administration (LA) which operated a Committee system, the introduction of a Chief-and-Council system amounted to a retrograde step as it meant a decrease in democratic participation. Under a Committee system, the supervision of a group of departments is spread among a number of Councillors while the new system entrusts this function to a single Portfolio Councillor. In general, the number of Portfolio Councillors ranges between three and five while the number of Councillors actively involved in the working of a Committee system can be three to four times as large. The reorganization of the Tiv LA into three LAs in 1970 has helped to increase the scope of democratic participation under the new system and this probably explains why the change has been accepted without any serious complaint.

It is for the six LAs which previously operated a Chief-in-Council system that the new system constituted a real innovation. As the June 1968 circular put it, the Chief-in-Council system was 'only a slight improvement on the much dreaded sole Native Authority which is usually personified in a Chief'. In practice, the working

of a Chief-in-Council system can be summed up by saying that the Council had its say while the Emir or Chief had his way. Under the new system, the decisions of the Council must reflect the views of the majority of Council members.

This important 'dispersal of power' between the Chief or Emir and the Council was also accompanied by radical changes in the composition of the Council. Prior to the 1968 reform, the LAs that operated a Chief-in-Council system elected only a small minority of Councillors on a representative basis; the vast majority were nominated members, sometimes the relations of the Emir or Chief. As a logical follow-up, the Portfolio Councillors were almost invariably chosen from the pro-Emir or Chief Councillors who were referred to in some areas as royalist Councillors. The unrepresentativeness of these Councils was more pronounced in some emirates e.g. Keffi, Lafia, Nasarawa and Wase than in others.

The emirates are the pockets of settlement conquered by the Fulani Jihad of the nineteenth century in its southward push, and it is not surprising that the Emirs and Chiefs for whom the new Council system meant a drastic reduction of power disliked it and each, in his own way, tried to hinder its effective operation. On the other hand, the indigenous majority in each emirate who had become progressively dissatisfied with the alien rulers in their midst warmly welcomed the changes. Missionary education had flourished in these areas and produced many articulate educated people who now expressed the support of their communities for the new arrangements.

The Government, for its part, was determined to carry through the reform and in appointing Councillors to the new LA Councils in October 1968, the dominant criterion used was representativeness. Because most LAs are inhabited by numerous ethnic groups that vary considerably in size, it has not been easy for the Government to satisfy every community. (There are more than 100 tribes in this small State of just over 4 million inhabitants). But it will be correct to say that both in 1968 and in 1971 – when the second set of LA Councillors were appointed, the Government did its very best to ensure truly representative Councils were obtained.[1]

In all, there exists a triangular relationship involving the Government, an articulate traditional group and an articulate leadership for the indigenous majority. The Government was determined to see the reforms through, the traditional group was opposed to them while the indigenous majority was in support. With the appointment of Councillors and the designation of those among them who were to have Portfolios, the Government had completed the first part of the practical application of the reform. The second and more difficult part was the smooth running of the Councils under the new broad-based power structure. The experiences of two Councils help to illustrate the difficulties involved.

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[1]No meaningful verdict can be passed on the accountability of Portfolio Councillors to the public in the absence of that supreme test which the periodic ballot of the people represents. At present therefore any discussion of accountability at the local level is bound to be highly speculative.

In Nasarawa emirate, there had been only three non-royalist Councillors and one non-royalist Portfolio Councillor up to 1968. As a result of the reforms, the new Council had a non-royalist majority and three out of four Portfolio Councillors were 'non-royalists'. After about twelve months of adjustment, the determination of the indigenous newcomers to succeed coupled with their assurance of Government support both at the Divisional and State levels convinced the Emir that continued opposition was futile. By the time the writer observed the working of the Chief-and-Council system in the emirate as a participant-observer between August and October 1973, the new arrangements had become well established and it was functioning smoothly. Although the Emir now exercises less power than he did before 1968, he seems to have become fully reconciled to his new position as the captain of a team of local leaders.[1]

In contrast to the situation in Nasarawa emirate, the application of the reform in Keffi emirate resulted in a crisis which culminated in the dissolution of the Council and the appointment of the Divisional Officer as the sole administrator. The Emir who had enjoyed the old order for almost twenty years was not willing to adapt himself to change. On the other hand, the indigenous newcomers to power were fully determined to reap the benefits of the new dispensation. An open conflict ensued with a confused situation facing the State authorities who watched the affairs of Keffi LA deteriorate from month to month without being able to stop the rot. In the end, with the LA on the verge of financial bankruptcy and the entire emirate rent with political intrigues, the State Government decided to impose a sole administration system on the emirate in July 1971. At the time of the writer's visit in 1973, considerable progress had been made towards financial recovery but the end of sole administration was still not in sight.[2]

The lesson from the Keffi and Nasarawa experiences is that the central authority is not always an independent actor in the implementation of administrative reforms at the local level.[3] In Nasarawa, those favouring reform succeeded in mobilizing the support of the central authority and this helped them to overcome local opposition thereto. In Keffi, the central authority got caught up in the fierce struggle between the local supporters and opponents of the reform and in the end, it was forced to introduce as an emergency measure a system of direct administration. As a local administration officer in Keffi rightly pointed out, the sole administration of a Divisional Officer is 'a small dictatorship'.

The Selection and Appointment of Traditional Rulers

In carrying out the reform of the procedures for the selection and appointment of

[1] In passing, it should be mentioned that the Emir's sound judgment helped him to see the inevitability of this change and to give up his resistance to it without loss of face.

[2] The Keffi Local Administration Council was reconstituted in February 1974; see *New* Nigerian (Kaduna, Nigeria), 19/2/94.

[3] It is possible that the military nature of the existing leadership significantly influenced the position taken by the central authority. But it is doubtful if a future civilian regime can turn back the hand of the clock.

traditional rulers, the State Government took great care to emphasize that there was no intention to undermine the institution itself. To demonstrate its good intentions, the Government announced an upward revision of the grades and salaries of Emirs and Chiefs. When the grades and salaries of Chiefs were last reviewed in the former Northern Region in 1960, two principles were applied: the traditional importance of the chieftaincy and the status within it of the Chief himself and the population and revenue of the territorial area under the Chief's rule. The 1969 review exercise adopted the second principle of 1960 as the dominant criterion for grading *all* Chiefs. This new approach, the Government pointed out, was more democratic then the old. However, it was emphasized that in every case where a reduction of salary was involved, the incumbent Chief would not be affected during his lifetime – there were five such cases. The Table below shows the old and present grades and salaries of Chiefs in the State.

TABLE I
Chiefs of Benue Plateau State: old and present grades and slaries

Grades	*No. before 1969*	*Present Number*	*Old Salary*	*Present Salary*
			N	N
I	1	3	6000 and above	4000 and above
II	7	9	1100 to 3444	1800 to 3998
III	11	7	560 to 1214	1200 to 1798
IV	2	6	254 to 686	800 to 1198
Ungraded	3	–	n.a.	–

N = Naira — 1 Naira = approx £1.15 sterling

'Who pays the piper', they say, 'calls the tune'. It was after the completion of this review of grades and salaries that the Government requested that the procedures of selection and appointment of every Chief should be submitted to it for consideration and approval. Considering the favourable review of salaries that had just taken place, the Government's amendments to the procedures submitted to it based on the desire to reconcile respect for traditional practices with the democratic principle of representativeness were resisted only in a few cases. In the end, even these pockets of resistance surrendered when they realised that the Government was determined to achieve its objective.

It should also be mentioned that another 'carrot' used by the Government to secure the compliance of the Chiefs was the inauguration in December 1969 of a periodic meeting of Chiefs in the State capital. This practice has now become institutionalized. It provides a forum where the Chiefs feel they gain in status and prestige as

well as have first-hand information of what is going on in the State. The State Government, for its part, uses the meetings as a means of securing the support of the traditional authority represented by the Chiefs for its policies and programmes. Judging by the frequency of the meetings (it was summoned twice between August and December 1973), it appears to be serving a useful purpose.

Prior to the 1969 reforms the general practice in each of the emirates had been to appoint District Heads for the whole emirate from the royalist minority. The only exceptions were isolated cases where the indigenous population successfully secured formal recognition for their traditional chieftaincy and then the traditional Chief was appointed the District Head.

By stipulating that every District Head must be 'indigenous to the area over which he is being appointed the District Head', the 1969 reform sought to end the existing feudal system in the emirates. The reform was therefore a radical departure from an age-old practice. It delighted the indigenous communities who had never really been consulted as to the 'acceptability' of successive District Heads almost as much as it shocked the royalists. To demonstrate its fairness, the Government decided to cushion the shock by exempting incumbent District Heads from the new procedure.

Shortly after announcing this modification of the criteria for selecting District Heads, the Government asked each Local Administration to forward for its consideration and approval the procedures for their selection and appointment. The LAs were made to understand that these procedures must reflect the 1955 criteria as modified by the 1969 reform. In general, the dominant concern of the Government has been to ensure that the procedures satisfy the democratic principle of representativeness. By 1973, the State had approved the procedures for the majority of the LAs while the remainder were being processed. Another subject that was still receiving attention in connection with the District Heads was the question of an upward review of their salaries (there are no grades). The review was to be based on the size of the tax-paying population and the average revenue collected in each District – a fair and objective principle by any standard.

On the whole, no serious problems were encountered in carrying out the reform concerning District Heads, apart from some impatience evinced by indigenous communities agitating for the removal of the incumbent District Heads while in some other areas the royalist-dominated LA staff appeared deliberately to slow down the procedures for filling existing vacancies in order to allow royalist appointees to act as District Heads. In both cases, a tense atmosphere is created which is not conducive to good government.

The Re-organization of Local Administration Units

In announcing the re-organization of the local administration area units in 1970, the Government placed a great deal of emphasis on its commitment to ensure an increased involvement of local citizens in the management of their own affairs. This bow to participatory local democracy accorded with current policies aimed at democratizing the military regime at local level. Of particular importance in this

respect, the Government was aware that public opinion was divided among the Tivs over the proposal to split the single Tiv LA into three LAs. The strategy of the Government was to highlight the democratic content of its action thereby portraying the opponents of the reform as anti-democratic. Indeed, once the new local administration units were formally created, the task of their opponents became very difficult and within a short time they abandoned the struggle which had clearly become futile.

As in the case of the new LAs, the abolition of the Sub-Local Administrations also had its opponents. Not surprisingly, these were mainly Chiefs and a few local élites who saw the reform as the destruction of their local power base. Unlike the opposition to the new LAs which disappeared shortly after the LAs had been created, the partisans of the Sub-LAs still remain hostile to the re-organization in some areas. But this opposition is likely to disappear before long.[1] In general, the formal legal enactment of the area reorganisations more or less guaranteed their successful implementation as it rendered the task of the opponents difficult while new vested interests quickly developed around the new units. With the creation of more local administration units, it can be said that more people are likely to be involved in the management of their own affairs. But how successfully have the people been managing their own affairs?

Local Government Reform for What?

Earlier on in this article it was mentioned that the Benue Plateau State Government regards its local government reform measures as a means to an end that includes the achievement of 'sound administration', 'peace' and 'quick progress' in the different parts of the State. The following quotation from the Military Governor's broadcast of January 1970 throws more light on the objectives of the reforms:

> Right from the start of the State Administration, we had embarked upon Administrative Reforms aimed at improving the efficiency of Administration both at the State and Local Administration levels. We want as many people as possible to participate in the running of their own Government. We had abolished Provincial Administration, set up new Local Administration Councils. . . . All this is aimed at getting the Government closer to the ordinary man. . . .[2]

These are very lofty aims indeed and it would require another full-length article to assess fully the extent to which the objectives are being achieved. For the present purpose, attention will be focused on the financial management of the LAs as the indicator of their strength or weakness.

In recognition of the critical importance of finance in local administration, the former Northern Nigeria Government established three grades for the treasuries of the Native Authorities in the Region – A, B, C. The grade of each NA was determined by the size of its revenue and the way in which it was managed. To maintain

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[1] The persistent demands for more districts in some local administration areas is, however, likely to become a quasi-permanent problem for the Ministry of Local Government.

[2] *Creation of More Divisions in Benue Plateau State of Nigeria*, *op cit*, pp 3–4.

their grades, treasuries which were graded A or B must fulfil certain conditions including:

a Collect at least 95 per cent of their Community or Cattle Tax by the close of any financial year;

b Acknowledge queries from the Director of Audit within two weeks of their receipt, and answer such queries within three months;

c Submit Annual Estimates . . . by the 15th December of each year;

d Submit Annual Accounts by the 30th June of each year.

These accounts must not show an excessive number of Authorities to Incur Supplementary Expenditure in relation to the original Estimates, or reveal a serious over-estimation of Revenue.[1]

A treasury that failed to fulfil these conditions was liable to downgrading. Conversely, upgrading was carried out in the case of a grade C or B treasury that fulfilled the necessary conditions.

Although the criteria used for grading the treasuries specifically related to the finances of each NA, the implications were very far-reaching. First, the grade of an NA treasury determined the extent of the control exercised by the Regional Government and this varied from a limited number of fixed statutory controls in the case of grade A treasuries to extensive and strict controls in the case of grade C treasuries with grade B treasuries occupying a position in-between the two extremes. For example, in the case of a grade C treasury, the Government's representative called the District Officer ceased to be an adviser and was held directly responsible for the management of the Native Authority's finances. This meant that the initiative allowed to Councillors depended on the grades of their treasuries. Finally, the extent to which each NA could bring 'quick progress' to its population could also be judged by its treasury's grade.

These treasury grades and all that they stood for in the past have been adopted for the LAs in the Benue Plateau State. This means that by examining the grades of the LAs treasuries between 1968 and 1973 (vide Table II below) we shall be able to tell whether the reforms introduced have resulted in any major change of direction

TABLE II
The grades of Local Administrations in the Benue Plateau State of Nigeria

Grades	*Number of Local Authorities in each grade at the end of:*		
	1968	1971	1973
A	Nil	Nil	Nil
B	4	8a	8
C	9	7b	7

[1]Government of Northern Nigeria, *Financial Memoranda* (Kaduna, n.d.), p 2.

NOTES

a The Tiv LA was graded B in 1968 and each of the three successor LAs created in 1970 maintained this grade.

b In July 1971, one of these LAs whose financial management was considered intolerably poor had its Council dissolved and replaced by a sole administration.

In all, only two LAs moved from grade C to B during the five-year post-reform period. On the other hand, one grade C LA sank further to be subjected to a sole administration and the financial positions of three other LAs were said to have deteriorated substantially.[1] On balance, then, the reforms cannot be said to have significantly improved as yet the quality of administration at the local level. Almost half of the LAs are subjected to strict and extensive Government controls with the attendant consequence of limited initiative for the Councillors. This also means that one cannot meaningfully speak of 'quick progress' in the areas under the jurisdiction of the LAs concerned.

Perhaps the real problem here is that the reforms already carried out are not adequate for achieving the overall objectives of the Government. For example, nothing in these reforms dealt with the administrative staff of the LAs – their recruitment, training and management. Also, there is no reference to the reform of the techniques of organization and of financial management. It is likely that the reforms already carried out will have to be followed by new reforms dealing with these other important matters if the government's important objectives are to be realized.[2]

In conclusion, attention needs to be drawn to two points related to the study of administrative reforms that emerge from the preceding account of the theory and practice of local government reform in the Benue Plateau State of Nigeria. First, attention was drawn to the need to recognize the three-dimensional nature of reform implementation: the Government which introduces a reform, the supporters of the reform and the reform's opponents. In a few cases, the determination of the Government embodied in the legal enactment of a reform is enough to ensure its full implementation. But in the majority of cases, effective reform implementation depends on the balance of forces between the three actors in the implementation process.

The second point is that as long as the ultimate aim of administrative reform is the fashioning of an efficient administrative machinery capable of ensuring rapid progress for the governed, it cannot be a once-and-for-all affair; it has to become permanent. As a set of reforms are being implemented, some other problems are

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[1] Information obtained from the Ministry for Local Government, Jos, December 1973. See also *New Nigerian*, *17th January* 1974.

[2] It appears that the Government is, in fact, aware of the need for further reforms. The Institute of Administration, Zaria, is currently conducting a study on 'Problems of Local Administration Finance in Benue Plateau State' as a consultancy service for the Government. It is expected that some reforms aimed at improving the techniques of financial management in the LAs will be announced at the end of the exercise.

bound to show up which will need to be solved and so on. This is perhaps why some countries have established a Permanent Commission on Administrative Reform or a Ministry of Administrative Reform. Some others have adopted the method of setting up periodic Commissions to make recommendations on Administrative Reform. The Benue Plateau State Government as well as other Governments in Nigeria could benefit from adopting one of these alternatives.

Land Law and Registration

C. M. McDOWELL*

REVIEW ARTICLE

Land Law and Registration[1] was commissioned in 1968 by the Ministry of Overseas Development, with the assistance of the University of Cambridge Department of Land Economy, following a conference of Commonwealth Survey officers which recommended that a revision of Dowson and Sheppard's *Land Registration* be undertaken. That work, which contained material collected by its authors in a number of different territories over a period of years, had been published in 1952 (2nd ed. 1956) and had become a leading work on the subject for practitioners and students of survey and law in the Commonwealth jurisdictions it covered. A committee was formed to undertake the revision and a number of specialists were asked to provide detailed commentaries towards the revision of various aspects of the earlier work. In 1969 Mr Rowton Simpson was appointed to supervise the production of the new work, with the assistance of specialist collaborators.

Readers of this Journal will need little introduction to Mr Rowton Simpson nor to his acknowledged expertise in land administration in Commonwealth countries. The present work was undertaken by him following an active career which began in the Sudan Political Service in 1925 and ended as Land Tenure Adviser to the Ministry of Overseas Development in 1969. Consequently, it is not surprising that the work is much more than a revised edition of Dowson and Sheppard and reflects in no small measure the experience of the author and his collaborators in the law and practice of registration of titles.

Another important difference between this book and its predecessor is mentioned by Mr Simpson in the preface. Dowson and Sheppard was written for colonial administrative and survey officers, but the present work is written both for their indigenous replacements and for those from elsewhere in the world who are called upon to advise on registration of titles. In consequence, it has been written so as to

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[1] *Land Law and Registration*, by Rowton Simpson; Cambridge University Press; index, tables; pp 726; £30.

be capable of being read by persons whose first language may not be English. Mr Simpson also stresses that he has tried to avoid presuming technical knowledge which the reader may not possess in the sense of realising that a lawyer may be a layman as far as survey is concerned, the surveyor may be a layman in regard to the law and many administrative officers may neither be lawyers nor surveyors. Both points are amply satisfied in the text. The book is written in a straightforward, simple style, which conveys the author's views with force and clarity and a very full explanation of technical matters is contained either in the text or in notes. On occasion, some explanations are tedious to a reader whose first language is English, but one appreciates the author's point. The clarity of presentation is enhanced by the numbering of headings and paragraphs, which also makes the index simple to use.

The work is divided into two books. Book 1, which is the main text, deals with the history, principles and practice of the subject and, in addition, contains useful appendices on land records in France and Germany, on the computerisation of land records and accounts in Sabah and on the land data bank of Sweden. Book 2 deals directly with the law and consists of commentaries on statutes which illustrate the forms of legislation chosen by the author as models of what good legislation should be.

The scope of Book 1 is considerable. It contains 20 chapters which deal with a number of separate themes. Chapters 1–6 provide an introduction to the history and development of legislation governing registration of title and registration of deeds. Following a general account of land rights and records and the processes of land transfer, an account is given of English land law, registration and conveyancing, the Torrens system of title registration and registration of deeds, including a treatment of the Scottish system of register of sasines and deeds recordation in the United States. The remainder of Book 1 is devoted to the more practical and technical problems associated with registration of titles. Chapters 7 and 8 provide an introduction to the cadastral survey and boundaries and maps, Chapter 9 attempts a summary of the advantages and disadvantages of registration of title, while Chapter 10 gives an account of guarantee and indemnity. Chapter 11 deals with the important topic of compilation of the register and contains a discussion of the respective merits of systematic and sporadic adjudication and whether the process should be compulsory, conducive or voluntary. Chapters 12, 13 and 14 deal with three specific problems in registering titles which occur in many jurisdictions, namely, customary land tenure, multiple ownership and horizontal subdivision. Chapters 15–20 cover a range of administrative matters which affect the compilation of registers, the organisation and administration of registries, the machinery of registration, techniques of cadastral survey, registry procedure and automation of records.

Any critical evaluation of a book which deals in such detail with a complex and, where it touches legal matters, a doctrinal subject must necessarily reflect the reviewer's own background and his perceptions as to what such a book should contain. As a preface to the comments which follow, Mr Simpson and his col-

laborators are to be congratulated on producing a book which contains such a large amount of valuable information on legal and practical matters. It can certainly be recommended to practitioners and students of law and survey as an important source book and, in the case of law students, as an introduction to the practice and techniques of registration. One is impressed with the vast amount of comparative material contained in the book and with the way it is used to illustrate and evaluate problems. There are also sufficient references provided to enable a reader to follow up points which interest him.

Mr Simpson's main object in this book is to advocate a system of registration of titles which will be capable of operation whatever the existing legal framework in any jurisdiction and which will provide the substantive law governing transfer of land regardless of whether titles are derived from state grants, customary law or any other source. So far as developing countries are concerned, Mr Simpson sees his system as being particularly advantageous in solving land use problems created by customary tenures and by excessive subdivision or fragmentation of holdings. There is no doubt that he has marshalled some impressive arguments in favour of his system, but there are a number of occasions where contrary arguments could have been examined or where the treatment of the topic seems inadequate.

At the general level one wonders whether such a system of registration of title is the right solution for many developing countries both as a method of improving transfer of title and in solving land use and other problems. The solution of such problems is not a necessary feature of registration of titles and there are many other methods of improving land law. The introduction of registration of title in the form advocated here undoubtedly results in an improved and simplified legal framework in the sense of providing a uniform land law, but that may not ensure that its inherent advantages will have practical effect. An ideal solution, particularly where it is expressed in statutory form, may encounter severe resistance in practice. As Mr Simpson recognises, it may meet opposition from the legal profession, it may be viewed with suspicion or hostility by landowners and it may prove too expensive or be beyond administrative resources. It may also be rejected on political or psychological grounds by governments. As the book demonstrates, some countries appear capable of overcoming these difficulties, but in other cases the introduction of such legislation, even where it is accepted as a desirable reform, has proved impossible. The failure to implement the Registered Land Act 1965 in Lagos, which is legislation of the type advocated, is indicative of the difficulties which may be involved. The history of this type of system, as stated in the book, seems to show that it is generally viable in territories where governments are capable of over-riding opposition to its introduction either as a matter of power or by showing that economic benefits outweigh the natural conservatism of landowners. The system tends not to be accepted where private rights in land are deeply rooted and where the power of governments is more diffuse. Developed and developing countries fall into both categories, and the list of countries which have not adopted the system is, as Mr Simpson says, formidable.

A further problem of particular relevance in some countries is that the system

presupposes a fairly elaborate collection of rights in land and a high frequency of transfer of such rights. As Mr Simpson observes in Chapter 1:

> This book is written for places where rights in land do exist – not necessarily rights amounting to unlimited and unrestricted absolute ownership but enforceable rights which are 'secure' enough to be worth recording; where no such rights exist and there is no 'tenure' other than state ownership, registration can have no relevance.

While there are many stages between unlimited and unrestricted ownership and the extinction of all individual rights, if such extremes can be found to exist, the fact that a registered title system is dependent on a free-enterprise economy may itself be an inhibiting factor for some governments faced with the need to reform their land law and may cause them to pursue alternative methods. Too much should not, therefore, be claimed for registration of titles as a vehicle of law reform or as a cure for economic underdevelopment.

A further point may also be made in relation to customary land tenure. In many jurisdictions the nature of customary title to land is uncertain for a variety of reasons. Sometimes its statutory definition is defective or precise information is unavailable or its inherent structure of rules is inadequate. Customary law is also prone to change in response to changing social, political and economic attitudes. Mr Simpson does not see this as a reason why customary titles should not be registered, but he recognises that their registration will require systematic adjudication and may destroy the basis on which such rights are traditionally allocated. Registration of customary titles on an individual basis may also hasten the breakdown of customary land tenure. Much of the material Mr Simpson cites on customary tenures is somewhat outdated given the rate of change in developing countries and reflects a slightly paternalistic approach to the problems. For many governments any attempt to rationalise customary tenures, whether by registration or otherwise, is a difficult political and economic question in which the need for a modern and efficient method of controlling land use and promoting transfer of titles may have to be balanced against resistance to change and the desire to preserve what is best in the traditional system. The future of customary tenures is essentially a question for individual governments, but Mr Simpson's contribution is to demonstrate how registration of customary titles may best be accomplished at the technical level once the choice to register them has been made. It is not, however, the only possible choice.

Mr Simpson's treatment of multiple ownership and fragmentation also calls for comment. These 'diseases of land tenure' as he terms them, often render the use of land less effective and transfer of title more complicated. The difficulties naturally vary from country to country depending on legal and economic developments and particularly on the degree to which people adhere to inheritance systems, often of a religious character, which promote subdivision. Mr Simpson deals with these problems at the general and practical level and suggests some useful cures and expedients which can be adopted. However, without criticising the usefulness of these general views, it might have been more instructive to have had a more detailed

account of how such problems had been dealt with both legally and administratively in one or two jurisdictions chosen for their contrasting contexts. The reviewer, showing national bias, would also have liked some reference to the work of the congested District Boards established in Ireland under the Land Purchase legislation to deal with uneconomic holdings caused by subdivision. He might also add that an examination of Irish land problems in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the means chosen to solve them might provide useful lessons for other countries faced with similar problems.

Another matter which requires comment is Mr Simpson's treatment of the advantages and disadvantages of registration of titles in Chapter 9. This chapter begins with an account of the Characteristic features and advantages of the English system as stated by HM Land Registry, which are then used as a measure when considering the advantages of registration for developing countries, registration as a means of improving land law and as an instrument of government policy. This is followed by a brief survey of obstacles and objections such as the presence of an effective deeds registration system, opposition of the legal profession and administrative difficulties. Both in its treatment of the subject and in its place in the book, this chapter seems unsatisfactory. In terms of Mr Simpson's aim of promoting a comprehensive system of registration of titles, it seems odd that such a central set of questions does not receive a more protracted and less didactic treatment. It might also have been more profitable for this chapter to appear at the end of the work, when the author could have re-deployed his many arguments and examples in a more conceptual framework as a fitting conclusion. Again, such a chapter would have been improved by a comparison of registration of titles with other systems which are designed to achieve similar results. Moreover, such a treatment would advance the author's object of producing a students' textbook as well as a practitioners' manual.

The final comments relate specifically to legal matters. Given Mr Simpson's laudable aim of attempting to explain legal technicalities to a lay readership, there are, nevertheless, occasions where he over-simplifies legal difficulties or where his propositions of law appear to be doctrinally unsound. Before giving a few examples of these, a general point about the content of Book 2 is required. The presentation of complicated legislation by means of printing statutory provisions accompanied by a commentary or annotations is only satisfactory if the annotations are full and refer to all the actual or potential legal difficulties in the statutory language. This is notoriously true of legislation affecting property rights and it may be that Mr Simpson would have been better advised to have produced a more descriptive account of the legislation rather than a commentary and annotations which are less than comprehensive. An example of some importance occurs in relation to overriding interests, particularly the rights of persons in actual occupation of land. In his commentary on s. 30(g) Kenya Registered Land Act 1963 at p 500 Mr Simpson indicates how the wording of the Kenyan provision differs from the English version in s. 70 (1)(g) Land Registration Act 1925, but fails to indicate why the difference is important and also fails to mention how the operation of such a provision can, on occasion, defeat the interest of a purchaser in good faith of a registered title. The primary difficulty in such a provision is the meaning of 'rights' which in English

law can connote legal, equitable or even statutory rights in land. As the English Law Commission have suggested (WP No 37 (1971), not cited by Mr Simpson), the word requires qualification by the addition of the word 'contractual' and the overriding interest should also be restricted to occupation which is both actual and 'apparent'.

On doctrinal matters two errors can be noted. At pp 26–27 Mr Simpson quotes with approval a passage from Cheshire, *Modern Real Property* 7th ed. (1954) that in modern English land law one could brave the wrath of the purists and describe a tenant in fee simple as an absolute owner of land. Mr Simpson states that the passage does not appear in subsequent editions probably because it has been accepted and the wrath of the purists was no longer there to brave. A better reason for its disappearance is that the statement was doctrinally unsound even in modern law, as was demonstrated by Professor Hargreaves in his review of that edition: (1956) 19 MLR 14. The absence of a doctrine of ownership of land has spared English law much argument especially in relation to modern regulatory legislation. It has enabled the land law to retain its flexibility through constant redefinition of the rights which comprise the quantum of the estate enjoyed by a tenant in fee simple. This is not to say that in other jurisdictions, where a defeudalised doctrine of estates applies, that the phrase 'tenant in fee simple' may not be a synonym for absolute ownership.

Dealing with the English approach to horizontal subdivision, Mr Simpson avers at p 262 that ". . . English land law does not admit 'conditional freehold'." With respect, this statement is entirely misleading. In both the doctrines of tenure and estates conditional and determinable interests have always been recognised and have performed a useful function. Indeed, the sale of freehold flats in English law would not be possible without annexing rights of re-entry as conditions subsequent to a legal rentcharge. What Mr. Simpson may be alluding to is that conditions subsequently annexed to a fee simple or other interests are subject to regulation in the form of rules of uncertainty, repugnancy and, in the case of equitable interests, perpetuity.

Apart from these few observations, which must not be taken as detracting from the overall value of the book, it would be invidious not to end this review without referring to the chapters (15–20) which deal with the administrative side of registration of titles. These are matters on which the experience of the author and his collaborators is considerable and in consequence the reader is supplied with a very detailed and exact account of how an efficient system of registration should be created and operated thereafter. These chapters contain a wealth of illustration, including facsimiles of registers and certificates of title, from a number of jurisdictions. The matters dealt with here, as with so much else in the book, should be of great practical value to registry staff in many jurisdictions and will certainly demonstrate to students the level of care and attention to detail required if registration of titles is to perform its proper functions.

Quarterly Notes

HABITAT; Success or Failure?

HABITAT, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, one of a series of conferences dealing with major issues such as the environment, population, food, employment, and the role of women, was held in Vancouver, Canada in June 1976. On its opening day it was described by *The Times* (of London) as 'the largest United Nations conference ever held' and 'certainly one of the most important'. It was also one of the most carefully organised.

During several years of intensive preparation its Secretary General Enrique Penalosa of Colombia and members of the HABITAT Secretariat travelled the developed and developing worlds, assisting governments and advising on the preparation of national reports and the selection of appropriate projects demonstrating local solutions to specific development problems. In addition, international and regional meetings were organised in attempts to identify problems, establish principles and lay down guidelines regarding future action at both international and national levels, for discussion and adoption at HABITAT.

Was HABITAT the success hoped for by its organisers, or the failure indicated by sections of the popular press?

Human settlements, the focus of most human activity, are of vital concern to a majority of people in the developed world and a rapidly growing proportion of those in the developing world. It was decided from the beginning to involve, not only national governments but people in general. HABITAT brought together representatives of 131 countries, 6 national liberation movements, 160 non-governmental organisations, and a number of intergovernmental bodies, as well as many individuals.

Just prior to the 'official' conference a two-day Vancouver Symposium, attended by a number of international specialists under the leadership of Dame Barbara Ward, listed fourteen priority demands for the urgent consideration of HABITAT delegates.

The 'official' conference, the most sophisticated ever organised, was held in the city

centre, considerable use being made of national audio-visual contributions, the proceedings being brought to the general public and non-official delegates by television. The conference had three main documents to consider:

a a draft 'declaration of principles' intended as a braod guide for improving standards in villages, towns and cities;

b a draft 'proposals for national action' outlining specific ways in which governments might act in the human settlements field; and

c a draft 'proposals for international action' leading to the setting up of more effective machinery within the United Nations to deal with human settlement issues.

Following established patterns at international meetings of this kind, the proceedings appeared dull and routine, in spite of the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

The 'non-official' part of the conference, known as HABITAT FORUM and open to all, occupied an abandoned seaplane base four miles away at Jericho Beach, five hangars having been converted into auditoria, seminar rooms, display spaces, offices and social areas by the large scale use of waste lumber and other materials.

In contrast to the 'official' conference, FORUM had an air of informality and vitality, the whole atmosphere being reminiscent of conditions in countries of the Third World, and reflecting the kind of improvised, self-help solutions appropriate to their problems which were central to the theme of the conference.

At the FORUM up to one hundred separate events took place daily, dealing with the widest range of subjects, some of a 'fringe' nature. These included individual presentations by world-famous figures such as Mother Teresa and Dame Barbara Ward, as well as many unknown, and organised workshop series dealing with major issues such as 'government/non-government co-operation' and 'self-help and low-cost housing'. Briefing sessions and a daily newspaper *Jericho* helped to keep delegates, participants and the general public informed.

In spite of hopes that the conference would concentrate solely on the problems of human settlements, political issues more properly the concern of other United Nations bodies figured in discussions at all official committees, preventing final consensus on the declaration of principles. It was unfortunate that these political differences having little to do with the purpose of the conference were given prominence by the press, strengthening the impression that HABITAT had ended in failure.

However, it is no longer realistic to think that political issues, reflecting the state of the world today, can be kept out of international meetings. Certainly it would be a serious mistake to attempt to judge the success of such gatherings by either the extent to which it is possible to exclude extraneous political issues or the degree of consensus achieved. It would be equally unfortunate if it was decided that international meetings no longer serve any practical purpose.

A letter to *The Times* (of London) suggested that the cost of HABITAT might have been used instead for installing water taps in some of the most deprived urban areas and that, though a small contribution, it would have been at least a concrete beginning. This seems to imply that no such start has yet been made. This is quite untrue for considerable work of this nature, at the local level, is already being carried out in Third World countries, even though, admittedly, a very great deal more needs to be done.

For some time now the urgent need at the global level has been for understanding of the importance of human settlements to both urban and rural development, an appreciation of the nature and magnitude of human settlement problems, recognition that established remedies offer no solution, and agreement on the kind of policies and solutions necessary if basic human needs and aspirations of total communities, not just of privileged minorities, are to be met, and acceptable levels of living brought within reach of all people. This was achieved at HABITAT.

For the first time ever the nations of the world came together to discuss human settlement problems, particularly those of the Third World. Although political issues could not be excluded, this must not be allowed to hide the fact that there was general agreement on virtually all matters relevant to the theme of the conference.

Most important of all were the Proposals for National Action, a set of 64 recommendations addressed directly to governments suggesting concrete ways in which people might be assured the basic requirements of human habitation – shelter, clean water, sanitation and a decent physical environment, plus the opportunity for cultural growth, and the development of the individual.

These recommendations were presented under six areas of activity:
a settlement policies and strategies;
b settlement planning;
c shelter, infrastructure and services;
d land;
e public participation; and
f institutions and management;
among the most important issues being:
i the need for human settlement and environmental policies as part of national development policies;
ii the planning and development of rural settlements as a focus of national development policies and programmes;
iii the planning and control of land use and development in the public interest;
iv the appropriate recovery by the community of the unearned increment resulting from rises in land prices; and
v public participation and self-help as an indispensable element in planning strategies, formulation, implementation and management.

HABITAT as a confernece was a considerable success, well justifying the enormous

efforts put into its preparation and organisation. However, its real success has still to be determined.

This depends first and foremost on the extent to which national governments, particularly those of the Third World, adopt and implement the kind of policies, solutions and actions agreed at HABITAT. It depends also on the ability of the United Nations Organisation to overcome internal rivalries and set up effective institutional arrangements to deal with human settlement problems. Lastly, it depends on the extent to which the privileged countries of the developed world are willing to co-operate with Third World countries in helping them to meet basic human needs, and solve the problems of both urban and rural communities.

Contributed by GEORGE H. FRANKLIN

INTERNATIONAL: The World Employment Conference

World poverty and the ability or otherwise of the world's inhabitants to feed, clothe, and house themselves, is the most acute international issue confronting the developed and developing nations today. In the Third World masses of people in Africa, Latin America and Asia exist in conditions of absolute poverty and conservative estimates suggest that some 1000 million live in countries with per capita incomes of less than $200 a year. The Declaration of Philadelphia setting out the aims and objectives of the International Labour Organisation proclaimed that 'poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere', and that 'the war on want should be carried on with unrelenting vigour'. It entrusted to the ILO the responsibility for promoting world programmes to achieve full employment and the raising of standards of living, including a just share of the fruits of progress to all. Under this mandate the ILO has attempted to pioneer a new employment orientated approach to development as part of its World Employment Programme. In spite of immense effort both at national and international levels, the tragic waste in human resources in the Third World is symbolised by nearly 300 million persons unemployed or under-employed in the mid 1970s. This situation prompted the ILO to convene a Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour which met in Geneva in June 1976. Some 1300 delegates including representatives of governments, workers and employers' organisations from 121 countries attended the Conference whose declared objective was to assist Governments throughout the world in combating unemployment, under-employment, and poverty, by designing strategies aimed at achieving the social as well as the economic objectives of development. A Report was circulated in advance of the Conference entitled 'Employment, Growth and Basic Needs – A One World Problem'[1] prepared by the Director General of the ILO which reflected the findings of the ILO Employment Missions and related research activities and this became the basic Conference document.

The Plenary Session of the Conference met daily at which some 200 statements were made by Government Ministers and senior representatives of employers'

[1]International Labour Office, Geneva.

organisations and trades unions; these were generally supportive of the 'basic needs' strategies proposed in the Director General's report. The substantive work of the Conference was carried out in the Committee of the Whole which established four Working Groups to consider the following agenda items:

i Developing countries and the 'basic needs' strategy;
ii International Manpower Movements and employment, and active manpower policies in developed countries;
iii Technologies for employment creation, particularly in developing countries;
iv Multi-national companies.

The issues raised in these agenda items provided an opportunity for other related issues to be debated which lay outside the scope of the Director General's Report, including the terms of trade, commodity prices, debt relief etc., issues over which difficulties had arisen at UNCTAD IV which preceded the World Employment Conference. Because of the political sensitivity of some of these issues and the position which certain governments had adopted on them in other international forums, certain reservations on some issues had to be recorded by some developed nations.

The Director General's Report had as its central proposal the adoption by each country of a 'basic needs' strategy in national development, aimed at achieving certain prescribed minimum standards of living before the year 2000. The Conference was asked to accept that development efforts should aim at the satisfaction of 'basic needs' within the next generation; to consider the desirability and feasibility of establishing minimum levels of 'basic needs' in wages, food, housing, clothing etc., to be achieved by the world community within the next generation. As a corollary it was also asked to accept that to meet 'basic needs' targets, investment in resources should be directed on a considerably increased scale towards the working poor and the creation of employment. The Conference was also urged to accept that a radical redistribution of assets and incomes should be seen as an essential ingredient of the 'basic needs' strategy. In general, the discussions of the Conference and the reports of the Working Groups revealed that there was wide acceptance of the importance of placing greater emphasis on 'basic needs' in the formulation and implementation of development strategies at national levels, and in the determination of priorities for the allocation of aid to developing nations. The need to set specific targets aimed at the reduction of unemployment and under-employment was also generally accepted.

Specially contributed

KENYA; World Assembly of Youth

The WAY Headquarters are to be moved from Brussels to Copenhagen, from 1 May 1976; and, with the exception of the President, who is appointed in his individual capacity, all elected and appointed officers of the staff of WAY, must be under the age of 35 at the time they take office. These were two important changes in the constitution which were decided on during the 9th Assembly meeting in Nairobi in February 1976.

Representatives from 60 different countries, ranging from Bangladesh and Brunei to Yugoslavia and Zambia, attended the Assembly and after the formal opening by Kenya's Vice-President and Minister for Home Affairs, Hon. D. T. arap Moi, the Assembly was then divided into three Commissions to deal with the business on the agenda.

In addition to studying proposed changes in WAY's Charter and structure, the *Administrative Commission* was able to note with approval the large reduction in its financial deficit, due to drastic cuts in expenditure achieved in the period 1972–76. The *Development Commission* approved programmes for all Regions for next year, covering Community Development, Literacy, Co-operatives, Human Rights, Population Education and Regional Co-operation. The *Human Rights Commission* approved nearly a score of Resolutions, including support for Freedom of the Press in the Caribbean; for calling on the UN to declare 1978 as International Youth Year; and for increased participation by young women in WAY activities and in public affairs in general.

The Assembly concluded with the election of Ole Simonsen from Denmark as the new President, and John Danquah from Ghana as the new Secretary General.

Source: WAY – March 1976

AFRICA; Colonial Governors

With the final volume of their *Colonialism in Africa*, 1870–1960 due for publication by Cambridge University Press this year, Messrs Peter Duignan and Lewis Gann of the Hoover Institution, Stamford University, California, have already begun work on another colonial history project. This is a volume on the African Colonial Governor, a topic recently adumbrated in this journal (January 1975, pp 39–44). Edited by Duignan and Gann, the book will consist of a score of essays from invited scholars, each dealing with a Governor who can be said to have made a measurable impact on the economy, political development or social restructuring of 'his' colony.

For British Governors, essays have been commissioned on Sir Hugh Clifford (Harry Gailey), Lord Lugard (John Flint), Sir Robert Coryndon (Peter Duignan), Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith (Anthony Kirk-Greene), A. G. T. Chaplin (Lewis Gann) and Sir Andrew Cohen (Ronald Robinson). For French Africa, the list includes Faidherbe (Leland Barrows), Singer (Henri Brunschwig), Delavignette (William Cohen), Pomty (Wesley Johnson), Gallieni (Virgil Matthew), Brazza (Jean-Claude Nardin) and Eboue (Brian Weinstein). There will also be studies of German (Lewis Gann on Schnoe and Woodruff Smith on Zech), Belgian (Bruce Fetter on Rutten and William Norton on Ryckmans) and Portuguese Governors (Douglas Wheeler on Albuquerque and Norton de Mattos).

In addition, the volume will contain two extensive general Essays, one on the British Colonial Governor by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, whose research into the history of the Colonial Administrative Service is beginning to take shape, and the other on the French counterpart by William Cohen. Author of the standard history

of the French Colonial Service. Two concluding chapters are planned, the first by editors and the other one by Professor A. E. Afigbo presenting an African perspective on the Colonial Governor. Publication is aimed at for the end of 1976.

Specially contributed

BRITAIN; Conference on Parallel Systems of Municipal Law in Commonwealth Countries

A very successful conference on Parallel Systems of Municipal Law in Commonwealth Countries was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, during the weekend of 2 to 4 April 1976.

The Conference was opened by the Rt Hon Lord Cross, Chairman of the Comparative Law Section of the Advisory Board of the British Institute, who gave an introductory address, and then took the chair for the session which followed when a paper was read by Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray, QC, former Legal Adviser to the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office, on a General Review of Parallel Systems in the Commonwealth.

Proceedings on the second day began with a paper read by Professor A. N. Allott, Professor of African Law at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on the Integration of Laws and the Building of a National Legal System in Commonwealth countries, and at which the Chairman was Professor Ahmad Ibrahim, Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Malaya. This was followed by a paper read by Professor Ahmad Ibrahim on Parallel Systems in Malaysia and Singapore, the Chairman being Mr H. H. Marshall, QC, Deputy Director of the British Institute.

In the afternoon, Dr E. Cotran, Lecturer in African Law, School of Oriental and African Studies, read a paper on the Integration of the Laws of Marriage and Succession in East Africa. The Chairman at this session was Professor J. S. Read of the Department of Law, School of Oriental and African Studies.

In the evening Dr Sebastian Poulter, Lecturer in Law, University of Southampton, presented a paper on Legal Dualism in Lesotho, the Chairman being Professor A. N. Allott.

On the third day, Mr H. H. Marshall, QC, read a paper on the Reconciliation of Conflicting Laws in Northern Nigeria. The Chairman was Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray, QC.

Among those present, in addition to those already mentioned were Mr D. A. Campbell, Crown Counsel, Solomon Islands, Mr K. T. Fuad, Director Legal Division Commonwealth Secretariat, Mr D. A. Kamat, Legal Adviser to the Indian High Commission in the United Kingdom, Mr M. M. Molapo, Counsellor of the High Commission of the Kingdom of Lesotho in the United Kingdom, Mr J. Pope, Deputy Director, Legal Division Commonwealth Secretariat, Mr D. W. Sagar,

Special Adviser (Legal) Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, Commonwealth Secretariat, Dr L. S. Sealy, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Mrs Dorothy Winton, Secretary, Commonwealth Magistrates' Association and Dr (Mrs) A. Sarup, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present altogether 23 senior guests and 29 students of whom 5 were from Malaysia, 4 from Kenya, 3 each from India and Singapore, 2 each from Nigeria, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and one each from Cameroon, Cyprus, Hong Kong, Malawi, Montserrat, Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia.

Specially contributed

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD; African Studies

Our Quarterly Notes for January 1976 included a specially contributed account of a symposium on Africa held at Wolfson College, Oxford. A few copies of the proceedings are now available to interested Institutions and may be obtained on sending £2 to the Secretary of the Inter-Faculty Committee on African Studies, c/o The Registry, Wellington Square, Oxford.

Book Reviews

Employment Income Distribution and Development Strategy Problems of Developing Countries; Essays in Honour of Hans Singer, Sir ALEC CAIRNCROSS and MUHINDAR PARI (Eds); *Macmillan*, 1976; bibliography of Hans Singer's publications; index; pp viii + 244; £12.00.

This book contains seventeen essays on a wide variety of topics related to the problems of developing countries and, as its title suggests, they reflect current concerns with employment and income distribution. They form a fitting tribute to Hans Singer on his 65th birthday. As might be expected, the opening essay – 'Early years (1910–1938)' by Singer himself is in fact the most interesting in the book from many points of view. Indeed one hopes that Hans Singer might be persuaded to produce a longer essay elaborating some of the many interesting points he makes.

One such point is a somewhat enigmatic statement about the relevance of Keynesian economics in which he suggests that in a dualistic economy with large rural-urban wage gaps 'in which unemployment can be explained as the factor bringing into equilibrium the expected rural and urban incomes, a demand model covering the rural-urban gap becomes quite plausible, providing a Keynesian theory of unemployment in developing countries and leading to Keynesian policies of stimulating aggregate demand in urban areas'. It would be interesting to know what assumptions would have to be made to make such a model plausible and the extent to which they bore any relation to reality in particular developing countries.

In a short review it is impossible to do justice to a collection which covers such a wide field and which is inevitably uneven in quality. Professor Tinbergen makes a valiant attempt to define 'justifiable' and 'non justifiable' differences in earnings through the extension of the principle of economic rent to the relative scarcity of a number of inborn capabilities. An interesting proposition on which, as Professor Tinbergen suggests, further research is needed.

A typically calm and lucid essay from Professor Arthur Lewis builds on the concept of 'development enclaves' in a highly suggestive fashion and concludes that distribution and growth are not necessarily at the expense of each other. This is followed by

an essay from Richard Jolly which further develops the 'Redistribution with Growth' strategy first outlined in the report of the ILO Mission to Kenya and elaborated in the joint IBRD/IDS volume 'Redistribution with Growth'. It is a useful summary of the present state of the discussion. The strategy is, of course, essentially supply oriented and it would be interesting to see how it could be married to Hans Singer's new theory of a Keynesian demand management approach.

Louis Emmerij and Dharam Ghai provide a useful summary of the conclusions so far reached from the ILO's World Employment programme. Henry Burton provides formal and empirical arguments which underline the importance of the choice of industrial activities in the context of an employment policy. Paul Streeten provides us with a typically thoughtful essay on the role of industrialisation in a unified development strategy which puts the whole question in rather better perspective than is the case with much modern development literature. In an essay on 'Capital Goods in Developing Countries' Frances Stewart argues that a capital goods sector is an essential condition for local technological development and that without such development 'LDCs are forced to accept the technical change of the advanced countries, with deleterious consequences for the rate and pattern of development'. However a very different type of capital goods industry from the sort envisaged by Mahalanobis type models is implied by her line of reasoning. This is an interesting argument which relates back to Schumpeter's theory of economic development to which Hans Singer attaches considerable importance in his opening essay.

G. M. Meier's essay deals with export substitution and the role of multinational enterprises. He argues in favour of a trade strategy of export substitution and suggests that multinational enterprises offer considerable potential in this area. However the multinationals create benefits and costs and negotiations and regulations, preferably on a multilateral basis, are needed to increase the net benefit to the host countries. Surendra Paul's essay provides a valuable corrective to much of the gloom and despondency surrounding discussion of the problems of the world economy. He makes a plea for greater efforts among the developing countries themselves towards co-operation 'in seeking new lines of trade, in opening up new production structures on a co-operative basis, in searching for new sources of skills and technology, and in allocating on a commercial basis available surpluses of reserves'. One would like to see these ideas explored in more detail.

Of the remaining essays that of Sir Austin Robinson on the 'Economic Development of Malthusia' is of particular interest. It explores the implications of present rates of population growth for development with special reference to Bangladesh. It presents the alternatives starkly and realistically. It is, perhaps, a little surprising that this is the only essay in the book to deal explicitly with demographic factors. It is after all the fact that development in the poor countries is taking place against a background of population growth rates so much greater than in 19th century Europe which is, arguably, one of the more important features of the present situation making the problem of reconciling growth and equity so intractable.

R. S. PORTER

Education for Rural Development: Case Studies for Planners, MANZOOR AHMED and PHILIP COOMBS (Eds); *Praeger Publishers*, 1975, pp 663; £13.75.

Nonformal education has very rapidly established itself as a household word – not only in the international advisory literature on education but increasingly also in the field and in national ministries of education. Quite largely this has been due to the activities of the International Council for Educational Development which has both with its own personnel and through a wide spread of consultants been analysing the variety of Third World learning that occurs outside the ordinary grade schools. It has done this extremely effectively, and has paid considerable attention to publicising its findings in a format that is immediately accessible to professional planners and ministry officials.

If then there are still some readers who suspect that nonformal education is probably just another name for traditional adult education, this present volume should help to disabuse them. Approaches to literacy work, correspondence education and other established offerings of Adult Education departments are certainly mentioned, but the range of learning under analysis goes far beyond the older boundaries of adult education or community development.

Although the scope of the volume is unconventional, it has fortunately not tried to be a directory of nonformal education initiatives, but has used its 650-odd pages to examine in depth just seventeen major cases of the type the editors wish to highlight: 4 South American or West Indian; 5 African; and 8 Asian. Most of these case studies are not merely amalgamations of the best known nonformal education programmes in the country concerned (though a few are), but are centred instead on a single major field of action, such as training for small scale industry, or on a massive national programme such as ACPO in Columbia.

Each of these large-scale programmes is then subjected to a rather rigorous uniform style of analysis. It is set against a thumbnail sketch of national development problems; it is then presented as a learning system whose objectives and organisation are discussed, often in a useful historical perspective. As far as was possible in the field research, an evaluation of the programme's impact was attempted, though this was inevitably inconclusive in many cases. The costs and financing are then examined, and finally the policy implications are reviewed – not only for the project itself, but often with an eye to lessons for adoption elsewhere.

The two principal categories of study are (a) those offering some more basic form of general education than is usually associated with the unreformed primary school, and (b) those concerned with skill, vocation and employment. The latter is a particularly diverse grouping, and naturally draws examples from many ministries other than that of Education. Indeed, as extension education is an obvious example of directed learning outside schools, many established programmes in various countries can come under this head. Notable in the volume are the discussion of small scale industry's extension services in India and Nigeria, and the analysis of the International Rice Research Institute's methods of training extension leaders.

Although initially it might seem strange to gather into one volume a range of programme that spans the IRRI on the one hand and Jamaican youth camps on the other, the rationale for the diversity is straightforward: that the rural areas of many Third World countries require the delivery of massive low cost skills and knowledge, and that formal educators in particular need to recognise the effectiveness of learning that goes on in health, crops, and industries just outside the confines of their schools.

Behind these disconnected case studies, then, runs the germ of an idea that has been amply expounded in earlier volumes from Coombs and Ahmed – the notion that rural development in the poorer countries could be dramatically advanced by the planned integration of the types of learning and outreach described in this book.

The integrated approach to rural development is still a long way off, and, arguably, further off in the poorer Third World countries than the rich. Nevertheless, for many planners, students of development, and aid personnel this volume will be very useful – even if it only gives the 'feel' of a really major ongoing project in the area of nonformal education.

KENNETH KING

Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority, DUPE OLATUNBOSUN; published for The Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research by *Oxford University Press,* 1975; pp 175; £8.95.

Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority is an indictment of both the colonial and nationalist governments, not only for neglecting the majority of Nigerians who are in fact ruralites, but also for 'milking them dry' for the benefit of the British Metropolis and the urban minority in Nigeria. Nigeria's development financing has been derived mainly from direct and indirect taxation of rural people who have benefited little or nothing from economic development activities.

The author's main arguments are presented from Chapters II to VII. In Chapter, II Olatunbosun decries the upsetting of rural Nigeria's traditional economic and social order which ensured distribution of real incomes in such a way as to mitigate against inequality and social injustice. He is also unhappy about the lack of impact of both the colonial administration and the nationalist governments on our rural areas in terms of development, especially in the field of agriculture. Agricultural development, he says, remains virtually unaffected by independence, and 'it is only the regressive pattern of distribution of public expenditures in favour of urban communities that has created inequality and social injustice which never existed before'. Similarly in Chapter IV, the author traces the root of rural poverty to the colonial development policies which created a dichotomy between the rural poor and the urban affluent. This dichotomy was accepted and perpetuated by nationalist governments after independence. The colonial government treated Nigeria as the countryside of Great Britain and its resources were exploited for the benefit of her metropolis.

Nigerian farmers, in the colonial days, were encouraged to produce export crops which were exported to the metropolis as raw materials for British industries. In effect, the rural sector merely got eroded by export-oriented activities that exploited the farmers and put nothing back into the sector as ingredients of structural change.

In Chapter III, the author draws attention to the present development theories which he holds are inadequate when applied to the problems of the rural sector. He makes a distinction between economic growth, economic development and rural welfare to enable planners and policy makers to consider the complex policy problems involved in rural welfare. He recommends that a rural welfare index be introduced as a means of ascertaining real progress at the local level instead of employing such growth indicators as GNP and *per capita* income.

In Chapter V, Olatunbosun directs attention to the impact of export earnings on Nigeria's economic development. His analysis shows that commodity exports have contributed significantly to changes in money supply and gross public and private capital formation. He sees commodity exports as potential stabilizers of government revenue for financing the public sector. While these export crops continue to contribute substantially to government revenues, the economic life and earnings of the commodity producer are declining. The result is that farmers become less willing to increase production, as revealed by lower investment in agriculture. As a result of a lack of agricultural incentives, young educated Nigerians abandon the countryside and migrate to the cities for alternative employment and to enjoy city life. The continued use of commodity exports to finance the country's development would further depress farmers' disposable income and widen further the existing rural-urban income gap.

The author feels that agricultural price policy in Nigeria has generally been used negatively, resulting in a decline of real income of the rural people. This negative pricing policy, he argues, is pursued mainly to keep down the price of food and raw materials for the growing urban industrial sector, and in order to increase the investment profits from trade in agricultural commodities to the benefit of the cities.

In Chapter VI, Olatunbosun calls for greater emphasis on food crop production and marketing as a way of increasing rural incomes. The importance of food production is better understood when it is realized that about 80 per cent of the total value of agricultural output in Nigeria is derived from the food sub-sector alone, although not much foreign exchange earnings are derived from it. The annual financial turnover of the food sub-sector of Nigeria's economy provides adequate scope for industrial development.

On rural welfare, Olatunbosun feels that the key lies in integrated rural development that is, development of export crops, food crops and rural non-farm activities and in the expansion of manufactures and semi-manufactures. An examination of available evidence shows that there is extensive activity in the rural non-farm sector in Nigeria and that the amount of this activity tends to vary directly with the

population size of rural communities. The future size of the rural non-farm sector would also depend on the future of the agricultural sector. If new crops or improved technologies were introduced then the increased agricultural production which would follow, would create not only an indirect 'income effect' that could increase demand for rurally produced consumer goods, but also a direct 'output effect' that would increase the demand for rurally produced inputs and also provide opportunities for the rural non-farm activities.

The author believes that unless rural people are able to increase their income from food production, and from rural non-farm activities, the balance of advantage of an increased food production strategy is likely to be in favour of the industrial urban sector. The fall in agricultural incomes and the concurrent rise in urban real income would further worsen rural poverty, unemployment and income inequality.

In Chapter VII, Olatunbosun discusses international economic relations. He believes that the performance of Nigeria's primary commodities on the world market has significant effect on rural incomes and employment because these commodities constitute the major source of income and employment in the rural sector. International economic relations with their ability to dictate the fortunes of primary commodities therefore have important implications for the level of living of rural people.

Successful co-operation on the international front should lead to greater relative development of the rural sector, but unfortunately, discriminatory barriers such as high import tariffs, import quotas and import restrictions currently imposed on certain primary commodities by developed countries are not conducive to maximum trade in primary products. Rather, such restrictions inhibit the development of under-utilized and surplus resources which cannot be fully employed.

Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority is an excellent exposition of the fact that Nigeria's rural populace have not had their fair share in the development process of their country. Olatunbosun's call on government to make conscious efforts to see that the earnings from agricultural exports and from petroleum are used to bring about distributive equity and greater development of the rural sector is shared by the present reviewer who said, 'The country (Nigeria), is endowed with enormous resources both human and material. Her mineral oil is flowing. She can use her oil wealth to develop her agricultural as well as her industrial economy so that the wealth thus generated will continue to flow long after her oil wells have become dry'.[1]

Olatunbosun's book is as challenging as it is thought-provoking. It challenges the development planner and the policy maker to take a good look at the squalor and misery of a sector which has contributed so much to make most of the good things in the country possible. Prior to the advent of mineral oil, virtually all the development funds in Nigeria came from agricultural exports – the Marketing Board

[1] *Journal of Administration Overseas, Vol XIV, No 2, April 1975.*

surpluses. Furthermore, the book calls for integrated rural development, in the sense that development will be a balance between agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits in the rural sector. This balance would bring added income to rural dwellers engaging in non-farm pursuits and help to improve their quality of life.

One's only disappointment is the one-sided picture which the author has tended to paint. Although he has clearly shown that both the colonial and nationalist governments have pursued development only in the interest of the urban sector and that in doing so the rural community has been heavily taxed and impoverished, he has not tried to explore the reasons for the apparent neglect of the rural sector. The analysis should have gone further to inquire why, for example, the government of the First Republic relied so heavily on export crops for development projects. Were there other alternatives at the time? Given the very limited resources at their disposal, could they have successfully embarked on simultaneous development of both urban and rural sectors? Or did they think it more prudent to start from somewhere – from one sector and then move to the other? What of political considerations – was the party in power more likely to survive if it tried to satisfy the needs of the most vocal section of our society (the urbanites) than if they strove for evenly spread development? Answers to these questions and their analyses would have led logically to a distinction between development strategies during the time when mineral oil rather than export crops became the principal source of development funds.

The above reservation notwithstanding, the author has done an admirable job in drawing the nation's attention to a very serious omission in Nigerian development planning and execution. All Nigerians who are interested in the balanced development of the economy of their country will find this book very rewarding to read.

L. O. OBIBUAKU

Ife Essays in Administration, COLIN BAKER and M. J. BALOGUN (Eds); *University of Ife Press*; pp 187; N2.50.

As a collection of essays the volume reflects credit on the leading personalities who have recently been associated with the Institute of Administration at the University of Ife. Inevitably some of the essays are better written than others and this is always a problem when contributions are brought together in a single volume. Some would have been better shorn of statistical tables and others tend to deal with rather obtuse subjects and although providing an intellectual ride for the author are likely to be of limited value in management teaching. Each does however outline an aspect of administration which has formed part of the syllabus background of the Institute during the last decade.

I found Colin Baker's views on the domestic growth of the Civil Service in Africa of sobering interest. He highlights the span of control problem that could arise if increases of key grades get out of ratio with lower management or supervisory level establishments. This is indeed something to watch and we can only hope that a Civil

Service as vital as that in Nigeria does not hamper decision making or the quality of any decisions because of unbalanced deployment of staff in State government or by disregarding the problems arising from the spread of control span. Dr Balogun's essay on management improvement contains some excellent ideas but loses some of its practicability in a maze of quotations and statistical tables. Dr Myers, of all the writers, keeps his feet on the ground and certainly the cost and careful use of limited expertise available to development areas is an aspect that is worth writing about. As in certain other countries an excessive rate of posting and re-posting can cause havoc and prohibit the maximum use of such rare expertise. The Ladipo Adamolekun article on Parliament is of considerable interest although recent events in Nigeria place it on the historical rather than the topical shelf. The case study contributed by J. J. White on the problem of communication development was very much confined to posts and telecommunications. This is a pity, if inevitable, in a short essay but communication development is vitally important in all its aspects and to dwell so much on the provision of telecommunications distorts perspective and suggests a total publication and not one short essay in a symposium. Or perhaps it is the title that is misleading.

The solid wisdom of Reg Whittam in his short essay on Income Tax needs little comment. He has had a great deal of experience and writes well about the advantages of community tax and the application of management by objectives to taxation. Perhaps one of the most interesting of all the essays and one that will be worth looking at in several years time is Professor Aluko's essay on the Illya Reorganisation of the Foreign Service. The rapid expansion of the Nigerian Foreign Service in recent years has not only posed problems of administration; in particular the Service has had to face problems arising from the impact of the civil war on the international scene and from the influence that Nigeria now has as an oil exporting nation. He describes the new organisational structure, its relationship to the administration and the reluctance of Nigerians to learn foreign languages. Professor Aluko offers fresh thought and applies a skilled pen with the result that this is perhaps the outstanding essay to be included in the volume. Programme budgeting with special reference to Nigeria is dealt with by H. M. Bennett and gives both a definition and some comments on implementation problems. An essay of this nature affords one way of dealing with Nigeria's movement towards result-oriented budgeting and brings in another administrative subject to a collection of essays that add up to a volume of considerable interest.

JOHN SARGENT

Panchayati Raj in Kangra District, S. BHATNAGAR; *Orient Longmans, New Delhi*; xxi, pp 261; Rs 30.

The study, under review, is the only major work on Panchayati Raj in the Punjab region. Given the structural variations in Panchayati Raj from State to State, regional studies such as Dr Bhatnagar's are welcome. The research goals of the study include an analysis of the structure and functioning of Panchayati Raj such as the background of the leadership, the decision-making processes, the extent of

realization of objectives and programmatic goals, the financial resources and linkages among various institutions and the degree of participatory democracy achieved. The study is based on field data from sixteen village Panchayats, five Samithis and one Zilla Parishad.[1] The villages and the Samithis were picked on the basis of stratified random sampling. The criterion of stratification in the case of the Samithis was physical geography. The villages were selected on the basis of proximity or distance from the urban centre. The sample villages fall into three groups i.e. (a) road-side villages, (b) interior villages and (c) interior-most villages.

In Chapter One, the author narrates the virtues of democracy and decentralisation with generous quotes from writings on ancient Indian history all the way through to the celebrated Mehta report. Dr Bhatnagar carries the reader through 2,000 years of Indian history to demonstrate the point that 'India has long traditions of local democracy' and that the 'Panchayat is an ancient institution'.

The statutes relating to Panchayati Raj set up in Punjab are summarized in the next chapter – the pattern appears to be more faithful to the Mehta report than that of any other state.

Three Chapters deal with village Panchayats. These show that a larger percentage of the leaders of the road-side villages were drawn from middle aged and high castes and from more prestigious occupations and had longer schooling than those of the interior or interior-most villages. Note is also taken that power in the Panchayat was concentrated in the Sarpanch, a characteristic attributed to the method of direct election to this office. Dr Bhatnagar makes the point that the Panchayats were in poor financial shape; the tax rates were regressive and there was a reluctance to tap the available sources of revenue. Voluntary contributions for public works had been declining. As a consequence, the State had to bail the Panchayats out from time to time. Next comes a review of the performance of the Panchayat and a description of the mechanisms of governmental control, in which the author observes that the Gram Panchayats of the 'road-side' villages had a better showing in the area of civic functions than the other Panchayats. In the economic sphere, the performance of the Gram Panchayats was uniformly unsatisfactory. With respect to administrative control over Panchayats the author feels that it was more symbolic than substantive, the reason being the politicization of the supervisory officers. Financial control by the Audit Staff was either weak or infrequent. The performance of the Gram Samha – measured by the criteria of the number of meetings conducted and the percentage of attendance at the meetings – was better in the remote than in the road-side villages.

At the Panchayat Samithi and the Zilla Parishad level we are told that over 70 per cent of Council members are in the over 40 group and most come from high castes and come, as one would expect from the land-owning stratum. One surprising

[1] *Panchayats or Gram Panchayats – Village Councils under a Sarpanch (Chairman), Panchayat Samithi – a block or sub-District level Council and Zilla Parishad – a Council at district level* (Ed).

finding of the study is that the relations between the official and non-official functionaries were generally cordial. Some of the major problems cited by the author include dual control over block staff and the preoccupation of the extension staff with office work to the detriment of extension work. The financial condition of the Samithi and the Zilla Parishad were no better than that of the Panchayat, the record of meetings held and the percentage of attendance however appear to be better.

In the concluding chapter, Dr Bhatnagar considers the reasons for the low level of participatory democracy are mainly the illiteracy of a majority of local leaders and the prevalence of factionalism. Finally, the author offers a check-list of suggestions for improving the situation.

The book suffers from three major shortcomings. First, the criteria of stratification adopted for drawing the sample are questionable. One wonders as to how the physical geography of a district would have anything to do with the phenomena under study. Proximity to the urban centre, the criterion used for selecting the three groups of villages is certainly a meaningful one but not sufficient to establish a scale of modernisation or urbanisation. The second criticism concerns the author's simplistic approach in explaining causal relationships. Throughout the book he selects a single variable such as literacy or the method of election to an office as the causal link for certain desired outcome, behaviour or relationship. A third objection concerns some misleading interpretations of data. For instance, the author comes up with a linear relationship between the extent of State grants-in-aid and the distance of each group of villages from the respective urban centres. From this, he resorts to two inferential leaps: 'The only reason for this unequal distribution of the grants-in-aid appears to be the greater voice and easier access to the authorities of the representatives of the road-side Gram Panchayats. This is perhaps due to their higher levels of educational and political consciousness'. It does not seem to have occurred to Dr Bhatnagar that the numerical size of the villages has to be considered in his computations. When we work out the per-capita State aid for each group of villages we notice a different pattern of relationships; the middle group of villages come way ahead of the other two and the differences between the road-side and interior-most groups tend to be marginal.

The study involved a painstaking effort by the author and notwithstanding the shortcomings just mentioned, his approach and methodology are superior to several other studies on Panchayati Raj. As a bonus, the printing is good and the price reasonable.

CHITTURI RAGHAVULU

Forgotten Mandate, E. K. LUMLEY; *C. Hurst and Co, London,* 1976; index; pp 178; £5.50.

Here is a straightforward account of his life and work in up-country districts of Tanganyika during the 21 years that Kenneth Lumley served there as a district officer. That he reached no great heights during his service reflects perhaps a

readiness to take umbrage too easily and a tendency to advertise what he was doing, rather than getting on quietly with the job – for the author besides being something of a 'character', was no mean scholar and those who served under him in the field speak highly of his efficiency and his mastery of the day-to-day administrative techniques required in his job.

For those who believe that colonial administrators led a royal existence, this book should make salutary reading – in particular the wretched and unhealthy living conditions at Kiberege (so bad that Lumley sent his newly-wed wife to live in a station in the hills). British Justice? – one example should suffice. Directed by the High Court to exercise extended jurisdiction, Lumley convicted two brothers of murder and sentenced them to death, according to law. Then, in the absence of any lawyers to help, he painstakingly examined his own judgment and wrote their memoranda of appeal for them so convincingly that one conviction was quashed and the other reduced to manslaughter.

For those whose orbit was largely confined to minor out-stations, life in the pioneering days could be tough, for Lumley whose Irish fatalism saw or imagined the knife of higher authority all too often pressing into his back, the strain eventually told and he was boarded out of the service on health grounds just when he was making his mark in a major district, Bukoba.

A pleasant feature of a simply-told story is that those whom Kenneth Lumley feels were responsible for his career disappointments and his failures are unnamed, while those with whom he got on well are named and praised.

P.H.J.

Problem-Generating Structures in Nigeria's Rural Development, MARTIN IGBOZURIKE; *The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala*; bibliography; pp 140.

This volume begins by arguing that Nigeria's current agricultural problems stem from the conflict arising from the colonial imposition of commercial farming on Nigeria's traditional peasant agricultural structure. The author tests this hypothesis against surveys of the problems encountered by Nigerian farmers. The findings are inconclusive but seem to suggest that the more commercialised the farmer is the more problems he has, and the richer he is the better able he is to cope with them. The conclusion drawn is that agricultural planners should concentrate more on the mass of the poorer farmers and should devise agricultural policies which fit in with traditional social structures. These conclusions, though they fit in with much current thinking on strategies for rural development, do not follow easily from the analysis presented to us. And the analysis itself does not do much to validate the author's initial argument. All in all, therefore, this is a disjointed and a not particularly convincing book; a pity considering the considerable amount of work which has obviously gone into it.

M. H. JAY

Author's Rejoinder

Professor S. S. Khera, formerly Cabinet Secretary to Pandit Nehru has sent the following comments on Professor Hugh Tinker's review of 'The Central Executive' which appeared in our July 1976 issue.

Let Professor Tinker spare his tears for some more deserving cause than my ill luck. He has his date right; his conclusions are wrong. It is true that I gave the text of the book to my publishers a few days before the emergency was declared. But he must know quite well that printing and publication take time; in this case some months. I could have stopped it, or changed the preface without affecting the printing sequence. Professor Tinker might conjecture why I did not. Two: he perhaps knows about the law as to official secrets; if not, there is a whole chapter on the subject in the book, and a special reference to it in the preface also. Three: Let me assure him and others anxious for democracy that India remains a lively parliamentary democracy. The new constitutional amendments are to that end. Four: as a former I.C.S. officer of ancient vintage, I write within the limits of the ordinary law and under no other incentive or restraint. I do not have to look over my shoulder. Indeed, only once have I ever been stopped in the street by a casual policeman on his beat, my suitcase opened and searched. That was in London, on a busy street in the heart of St. James', outside the door of my apartment block. I do not look or sound particularly Irish. Five: There is nothing that places democracy more at risk than people, the so-called experts, who tell others that some particular nation is not suited to democracy; or that (often the same experts) that democracy is in danger there or is yielding to something else. Britain has left a great heritage of parliamentary democracy and the rights of man, in India. Let this nation thread its own way upon that course, as indeed parliamentary democracy has done and is doing in the country of its modern origin.

Book Notes

Planning in the United Kingdom
Department of the Environment, London
Illustrated, plates, maps, bibliography, tables; pp 124, £10.00; Shortened pocket-sized digest version, HMSO, pp 72, £2.00.

Britain's national report for the UN Conference on Human Settlements at Vancouver (HABITAT '76) has been beautifully prepared; if it is costly and perhaps rather glossy, it is a first class publication – indeed a work of art.

After providing the historical background to the development of modern planning, a review of current trends and an outline of the existing planning system follow, with further chapters on housing, transport, urban development and conservation. The report concludes with a succinct appraisal and a useful bibliography. The editor, printers and publishers all merit high commendation. Here is a work that cannot but add to Britain's international esteem in a field – town, regional and rural planning in which a leadership role continues to be held.

A Yearbook of the Commonwealth, 1975
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
Map, tables, index; pp 771; £7.50.

This admirably produced Yearbook is good value for money. It provides an invaluable source of information about all Commonwealth countries, clearly set out and well indexed. Besides individual chapters on each country summarising the geographical, demographic and economic, fiscal and developmental situation, as well as historical and constitutional material, and particulars of ministries and government departments, other short chapters provide a wide variety of useful information. These cover such subjects as Regional Organisations, Commonwealth Committees and other Bodies; facts and figures dealing with trade, currencies, GNP, students; ODM; Commonwealth Communications; the Commonwealth Secretariat; the Constitution of the Commonwealth and meetings of Heads of Governments. Particulars are also provided of Commonwealth diplomatic representatives.

To all those who are concerned in any way with Commonwealth affairs, this annual has an essential place on their reference book shelves.

Ghana's First Republic 1960-1966
TREVER JONES *Methuen, London*, 1976
Bibliography and index; pp 366; £6.50 (hardback), £3.95 (paper back).

As the first British African dependency to achieve independence after World War II, Ghana, will always have a special place in Africa's history books and Dr Nkrumah a special place in many African hearts as the dynamic nationalist leader whose influence expedited South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth and whose ambitions focused on pan-Africanism and made him the real founder of OAU. Trevor Jones provides a lively history of Nkrumah's period in power – power that was exciting and the apparent means to international success, power that corrupted and corruption and mismanagement that destroyed an idealist's dream, and sent him disillusioned to a lonely powerless exile in Sekou Toure's Guinea.

Surprisingly one searches the index in vain for mention of Adu or Gardner or Arden Clarke. Like the subject of his study Trevor Jones – who pinpoints with clarity misdeeds and mismanagement in public bodies – gets rather carried away by the political excitements of the period. Nonetheless this is a well written and balanced account of the Nkrumah regime – its

successes and its follies, and the cautionary tale it carries for other would be redeemers is that while politics may be the life blood of government, the power of politics is not entirely unlimited!

World of Hunger – A Strategy for Survival
JONATHAN POWER and ANNE-MARIE HOLENSTEIN *Temple Smith, London.*
Tables; pp 202; £1.95 (paperback); £4.00 (cased).

The authors' hearts are certainly in the right place and their concern for the Third World's poor and starving is deeply sincere. But they are journalists and this small volume that races from country to country and theory to theory sadly lacks depth and focus. There is a fair and sensible assessment of the American PL 480 which has been subject to much criticism, albeit more recently the criticism has been directed at North America's failure to build up great cereal reserves to meet Third World shortages. There is a rather less fair and apparently second-hand assessment of Hameed Khan's experiment at Comilla and an unduly pessimistic mention of the green revolution. As Guy Hunter has said, man may not yet have made the optimum use of the new strains, but where would the people now be in many lands had they not been introduced at all?

The sub-title indicates that the authors will suggest a strategy for survival. In fact, apart from the principles suggested which should govern food aid policies, there is no such strategy to be found, rather, alas, the authors appear as the prophets of doom – they may be right (and the Cambridge Conference of 1970 wrong), but there are still many who have reason to believe that the doctrine of despair need not prevail if reasonably prompt national and international action is taken to increase food production, to further population programmes, to ensure a reserve of food-aid stocks for use especially in the event of natural disasters. This the authors will surely appreciate, but to spell it out might smack of undesirable complacency whereas they wish and, rightly so, to fly the danger signals even if they tend to do so emotively and politically rather than coolly and clinically.

Rural and Urban Income Inequalities
WOUTER van GINNEKIN *ILO, Geneva.*
Appendices; pp 67; Fr (Swiss) 15.00.

The author's study covers five developing countries – Indonesia, Mexico, Pakistan, Tanzania and Tunisia, and is based on sample surveys carried out in towns and villages. The countries are, of course, widely differing in their cultures and in the extent of their development. Mexico already has a 65 per cent urban population and Tunisia 40 per cent, and their GNP brings neither of them into 'poorest' category of ldc, whereas Pakistan, Tanzania and Indonesia all with a per capita GNP of $120–130 are among the poorest of all countries. It would seem necessary to question how accurate an indicator is household expenditure which the author uses to show the level of living of the families surveyed. A self-sufficient peasant farmer may need to buy virtually no food and if his home is built by local self-help methods, he may need to expend no cash on housebuilding whereas the urban dweller has usually to buy his food and to pay for his accommodation.

Nevertheless this well produced small book provides plenty of useful information on a comparative basis and suggestions for employment-creation in rural areas. Whether land appropriation and redistribution, one solution proffered where too much property is in too few hands, is an answer in itself, must be regarded as doubtful – it can be no more than a means towards an end – subject to careful planning and implementation.

Class, Race and Gold
FREDERICK JOHNSTONE *Routledge and Kegan Paul, Henley, Oxon, England,* 1976.
Notes, bibliography and index; pp 298; £5.95.

This is an interesting but strange 'study of Class relations and racial discrimination in South Africa'. It is strange because the focus and the theoretical discussion is entirely on the mining industry, with the result that the reader needs to know quite a lot about South Africa if he is to obtain a balanced view of the overall contemporary scene.

The sad and sordid tale of the nationalist government overtly and increasingly turning on the apartheid screw is clearly presented. Yet South African mining is the industry which has attracted African workers in their thousands not only from Southern but also from Central and Eastern Africa, it is the industry that paid surprisingly large sums in compensation to the dependants of those killed in the mines and made special awards to Africans for bravery shown in accidents. If totally bad discriminatory practises were pursued in the mines, at the behest of the State,

in this the rich and generally best-managed of South African industries, how very much worse must be the conditions endured by African workers in other spheres of employment. What the author fails to emphasise is the adverse effect on South Africa's own Africans and the depression of their wage rates resulting from the flow of unorganised alien African labour to the mines from other countries without whose presence the struggle for better pay and conditions would not have been so interminably difficult.

This is not really a social study at all, it is an academic study of labour/employment conditions in the South African mines and much of it is old history and not enough post World War Two.

See How They Run
EDWIN SAMUEL *The Woburn Press, London*, 1976.
Pp 208; £5.95.

In this handsomely produced volume, Edwin Samuel presents an entertaining picture of the seven parts of the Establishment which he describes – *The Times*; The House of Lords; Balliol College; The Catholic Church; The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden; Westminster Abbey; The British Museum Library.

Obviously, it is not possible in a series of short essays to do more than provide a general impression of each Institution – no secret cupboards are unlocked and in most cases what emerges is a well written and interesting guide as to how these venerable Institutions operate, what functions they perform and what services they provide. An exception is the chapter on *The Times*, which is much the longest in the book and in which the author really does go into sufficient detail to enable the reader to grasp not merely how the great newspaper 'runs', but also who does what in each department. Ownership, finance, advertising, circulation and distribution, the management, starting with the Editor, and his daily routine, are all described by the author together with editorial policy, the paper's make-up, leaders, letters and obituaries, Foreign and Home news, sports, political editing and parliamentary reporting, law reports, the crossword, the arts, business news, special reports, pictures, archives – these and every other facet of *The Times*' daily appearance are set out and explained and the staffing arrangements and the leading personalities involved are included. This lucid and fascinating picture of how *The Times* is administered makes 'See How They Run' a book to be highly commended to all who are interested in current affairs and in the management of British Institutions.

Class, Elite and Community in African Development
ALPHEUS MANGHEZI *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala*, 1976
With bibliography, pp 118.

Maybe this small book is based on a doctoral thesis – some 24 per cent of its pages being devoted to footnotes. The author propounds without much sparkle many of the old-fashioned and oft repeated ideological arguments about the class struggle. Nothing very profound emerges and all really that is said is based on the author's own interpretation of what is meant by the word élite which he dismisses as irrelevant to the class struggle. There may be theories about élitism, but there are in rich countries and poor, rural and industrialized, communist or democratic or what-you-will, groups of people who qualify for the word élites. They may be good, they may be bad, but they will always be there whatever the political system.

Public Personnel Management: The Heritage of Civil Service Reform
JAY M. SHAFRITZ *Praeger Publications Inc USA.*
Foreword ix, bibliography, index; pp 178.

The Civil Service of the sub-title is the American Civil Service – both Federal and State – and 'reform' relates to a recognition on many sides of the need 'to correct the evils of the spoils system, and to improve and stabilize performance in government agencies and bureaux'.

The 'spoils' system of rewarding friends and supporters with high office, was given official recognition in 1832, during a debate in the Senate over the appointment of Martin Van Buren, the Minister to Great Britain, when Senator Marcy of New York, declared that the politicians of the United States 'see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy'.

However, even at the height of the 'spoils period', when change of party government meant 'all change' there existed a form of 'career service'. Competent clerks, for instance, often retained their positions while changes of higher-grade personnel occurred all around them. During the 1850s, examinations were made mandatory for a variety of official appointments. But, while these measures helped in a small way to improve matters at Federal level, State

and local appointments were still made on the old basis. President Grant gave further impetus to the movement when in 1871, he appointed a civil service commission 'to establish and implement appropriate rules and regulations'. It was said that his enthusiasm for reform was sparked off when, as a private and obscure citizen, he was denied an appointment as a country engineer because he lacked the necessary political sponsorship. It was this Commission that introduced most of the promotion and appointment procedures in use today in the federal system, but they are now being questioned, not least, because they give a decided advantage to seniority over merit – a situation which the newly-militant unions insist on perpetuating.

Today, only nine States – principally in the South – and 12 per cent of cities with populations of over 50,000, lack merit systems in their promotion policies. Under the new system the security of tenure enjoyed by a public servant was never intended to protect incompetence or misconduct. Viewed historically, it was the persistent abuse of their prerogative of hiring and firing (often indulged in for racial or religious reasons), which led to restraints being placed on the freedom of action of supervisors and managers. Today, because of civil rights and similar legislation, giving employees the luxury of appealing against dismissal, it is frequently easier to take on additional staff, rather than go through time-consuming and cumbersome procedures to remove incompetents.

On Negotiating a New Order of the World Copper Market
KLAUS BILLERBECK *German Development Institute*, 1975
Pp 81.

The author has made a study of multilateral negotiations on commodities. In this small volume he examines the relations between industrialised and developing countries in respect of the World copper market – a market which has seen so many price variations since the Second World War – sometimes bringing great wealth to Chile and Zambia, and sometimes creating despondency when prices fall – this indeed is the commodity for which the Chinese-built Tanzam railway was constructed.

Klaus Billerbeck envisages a new economic order (sic) of the World copper market through an international copper agreement. Hopefully this may prove possible but without a constant level of demand and with producing countries of very differing political complexions this may prove very difficult to achieve.

Men in the Middle
ALVIN MAGID *Manchester University Press*, 1976.
Tables, appendices, index; pp 291; £10.00.

This study is concerned with the Idoma-speaking people of the Benue-Plateau State in Northern Nigeria. The author examines in depth what is described as the 'role conflict' in which Chiefs, village headmen and other local leaders are involved while providing linkage between different social strata in their own particular society. A difficulty which Alvin Magid faces, and does not really overcome, is one of relating his particular academic theories to the realities of Nigerian rural life so that both 'gell' and a composite clear picture of theory and practise emerges.

As it is this rather jargon-written volume proceeds in somewhat staccato bursts without establishing a clearly coherent theme. The subordinate role of Idoma women in tribal life is emphasised in the only major reference to the woman's place in society – yet this is very important today; it is a pity no more is said. This is an expensive book and its readership is likely to be limited to sociologists and political scientists with West African interests.

Correction

The price of Michael Dei-Anang's "The Administration of Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1965" reviewed in our October Number (XV/4) is £1.50 *not* £6.00 as then shown – *Ed.*

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